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CLINTON

A PLAN FOR PRESERVATION



SEE CENTER PAGE FOR SUMMARY AND PROPOSALS



Prologue

Acknowledgments & Format

The study process described below indicates the great deal of community participation and accompanying responsibility for this report. The study Subcommittee was chaired by John Duffel, who coordinated the many meetings and presentations throughout the study. The Subcommittee members included Mary D'Elia, Eileen Jennings, Bill Sansone, Joan Tassiello, Joe Walsh and Bill Wise.

Steve Wolf, Chairman of the Clinton Steering Committee and Aston Graves, Chairman of Community Planning Board #4, contributed generously of their time and ideas.

John Zuccotti, Chairman of the New York City Planning Commission, supported and provided this work with ongoing critiques and encouragement. Stanley Newman coordinated the work of C.P.C. staff, who provided technical assistance along with Bill Raup and Dorothy Senerchia of the Manhattan Office of City Planning.

Our work was conducted out of an office on the 22nd floor of 220 West 42nd Street, the home of the Office of Midtown Planning and Development. Much of the background information was provided by that office, in addition to contributions at all levels, including the specific planning and urban design proposals. Ted Howard, Michael Kirkland, Dong Yi and especially the secretarial staff worked closely with us.

Jean Lerman and Ann Myerson of the local H.D.A. office contributed to the development of housing strategies and provided us with local housing information.

Joan Foley provided liaison with Borough President Percy Sutton's office.

Our sub-consultants were Marilyn Groves, for legal aspects, and Emanuel Tobier for economics. Andrew Elliott, structural engineer, advised us on construction problems, as did Henry Arnold, landscape architect, on open space.

Those contributing to the study from Weiner/Gran included the following:

Partner in Charge: Warren W. Gran

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Graphics: Albert Lorenz, Peter Primak; The Main Street Graphics Group.

The study was funded by a grant to the City Planning Department Fund from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

The study was produced in this "newspaper" format in an attempt to reach a large number of Clinton residents. Much editing of the large amount

of information gathered (most prior to our involvement) was necessary to produce a report of readable, yet informative scope and size. An outline of the contents follows:

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The Study Process

In every planning project there exists a set of procedures, starting with goal setting, problem delineation, articulation of priorities, etc., continuing through to the formulation of policies, strategies and implementation actions. The emphasis placed upon each of these steps depends to a great extent on such constraints as time, budget, and manpower. In the case of the Clinton Study, there were the additional parameters of ever fluctuating political strategies, monthly revisions of the fate of the Convention Center, a change of City administration in mid-stream, and the problem of coordinating the various private and public bodies which had a role in planning for the area.

City & community involvement

The community representatives had for some time

been active participants in determining City policy toward Clinton. Therefore, many of the introductory steps, such as developing goals, were well advanced at the outset of this study. Starting with this groundwork behind us, the task was fairly well defined. Although not all the problems had been isolated, a framework in which this could be done had been established. The challenge was in finding solutions to many complex issues. For this reason, an inordinate amount of time and energy was devoted to examining various strategies which the community saw as potential solutions. This is in contrast to the more general approach usually employed in community planning studies, where direction rather than implementation is stressed.

At weekly meetings a subcommittee composed of ourselves, representatives of the Clinton community, the City Planning Commission, the Housing and Development Administration, and the Office of Midtown Planning and Development, reviewed and discussed all the ideas and information developed during the previous week.

Every proposal that had the slightest hint of potential when applied to one or more of Clinton's problems was scrutinized. The varied viewpoints of all these parties including our own legal and economic consultants were brought to bear on each particular strategy. This format provided a rigorous means of screening and evaluating each idea. In order for any proposal to come out of this process, it had to meet and overcome potential conflicts with a wide range of concerns, from present Federal, State, or City policy, to legal and economic feasibility, to local political and environmental considerations.

Process vital to ultimate success of product

This process was often time consuming, taxing, and occasionally frustrating. Nevertheless, it offered the hope that, through this combined effort of the community, the local government, and the professional planner, a workable set of proposals would emerge. These proposals were created through study and compromise by all the interested parties, and therefore should represent all of their interests. It is this type of unified support that is essential to the eventual implementation of any plan. In working with the community and with City officials on an ongoing basis during the actual formation of the plan, we have anticipated and resolved many problems and objections that might ordinarily have gone unaddressed until the public hearing stage or Planning Commission review. Since, to a large extent, the "lions" have been "bearded" in the planning process, we look forward to a rapid and relatively harmonious process of local and City review, approval and implementation.

While the process described above may have been

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somewhat impractical within the time constraints of this particular study, we feel that it has great potential as part of the ongoing two-tiered planning process carried on throughout the City by the 62 local planning boards and the City Planning Commission. Indeed, the implementation of this special district will require a long term commitment to this type of multi-level cooperation if it is to succeed.

Furthermore, the planning effort carried out in Clinton should be viewed as part of the City-wide comprehensive planning process. Because there is a recent leading Court of Appeals pronouncement which bears directly on this issue, a separate discussion is in order. In *Udell v. Hass*, the Court of Appeals invalidated a series of zoning changes partially on the grounds that the regulations were not enacted "in accordance with a comprehensive plan." The Court's extensive comments on the comprehensive planning process means that zoning changes must relate to plans for the community (city) as a whole. "While [the] elements [of consistency and rationality] are important, the 'comprehensive plan' requires that the rezoning not conflict with the fundamental land use policies and development plans of the community." In the context of the Clinton proposals, this requires that the City relate its commitment to develop the Convention Center to its commitment to maintaining the residential community in Clinton, and that it state its desire to permit and encourage other development which furthers these two goals. These objectives patently contradict policy statements concerning the future of Clinton in *Plan for New York City*, a document which a court certainly would consider relevant in determining the City's comprehensive plan. **Obviously a clear authoritative change in policy must be made.**

The second point the Court made with respect to the comprehensive planning requirement is that zoning changes be preceded by thoughtful analysis and a full consideration of alternative solutions.

The extensive record of planning within the community and Planning Board and with the Planning Commission and other City agencies, the discussion of alternatives in the Interim Report of the Consultant, the Board of Estimate's adoption of the Interim District following public hearing by both the Planning Commission and the Board of Estimate, and the series of hearings in the community on the Preliminary Draft are probably conclusively persuasive on this point.

Introduction

Clinton - a working class community

Clinton may seem to be in many ways a study in contrasts. It is a blue-collar community in the midst of white-collar midtown Manhattan. It is solid blocks of lowrise Old Law tenements adjacent to towers of modern luxury housing. It is an inner City neighborhood where one-third of the people walk to work, in the age of suburbia and the automobile. To the casual observer, it may seem that in Clinton "time is out of joint."

Clinton is a neighborhood that embodies many of the values that, until recently, seemed to have been lost in the shuffle in New York City. Its residents are the type of people who contribute to a stable neighborhood—the very foundation of the City. Clinton's housing is not new nor does it command exorbitant rents, but it is sound and sanitary, and its scale is

comfortable and humane. It is not a fashionable place in which to live, with its mixed commercial, manufacturing, and residential uses, but it is far more convenient and efficient than the "bedroom community" syndrome that wastes millions of worker-hours every day on the highways and commuter trains.

City committed to preservation

In fact, Clinton may be in many ways ahead of its time rather than obsolete. It has survived long enough to see a rebirth of appreciation of the City's neighborhoods reshape City policy towards its neighborhoods. New York City has already taken a significant step toward affirming the value of Clinton and areas like it. In August of 1973 the Planning Commission, pursuant to Executive Order #80, designated five neighborhoods in the City as Neighborhood Preservation Areas. Clinton is one of these communities. By this designation, the City let it be known that it would no longer be content to wait until its transitional neighborhoods had finally deteriorated to the point where only demolition and redevelopment were appropriate, before taking action to save them.

To a great extent, our recommendations for Clinton follow the spirit of the Neighborhood Preservation Program, although they are more extensive and aggressive in addressing the particular problems of Clinton. Indeed, throughout the study we have predicated our analyses of various strategies for preservation on the continuing commitment of the City government to neighborhood preservation in general and to the preservation of Clinton in particular.

As with any plan for a community, the proof will be in its implementation.

History

Vale of Flowers

In 1667, Governor Nicholls, the first British governor of Manhattan, granted a land patent to several citizens for the land north of the Great Kill, a stream which ran across much of the island at the present-day location of 42nd Street and emptied into the Hudson River. This land grant was in the area stretching from about 14th to 125th Street, which the Dutch called Bloemendael—"Vale of Flowers"—or Bloomingdale. The Bloomingdale Road, which was later joined to Broadway, was opened in 1703 to enable the settlers to travel from one farm to another.

By the end of the 18th century most of the farmland in the present-day Clinton area belonged to the Hopper family which intermarried with the Mott and Striker families. The Hopper farmhouse stood at 50th Street and Broadway. General Garrit Striker's homestead "Rosevale" was at 53rd Street and the Hudson River, and "Mott's Point" was at 54th Street and the River. Surprisingly enough, all three houses remained standing until the third quarter of the 19th century despite the encroaching city and its industrialization. The old Hopper Burial Ground, which stood at the southwest corner of Ninth Avenue and 50th Street, was used for burials until 1845 and was not removed until 1885.

In 1811 the Commissioners of the City of New York laid out the streets of Manhattan in the present regular grid system. Most streets and avenues in the area were actually opened during the first half of the 19th century. Bloomingdale Square, the blocks between 55th and 57th Streets and Eighth and Ninth Avenues, was also laid out on the map of 1811. The square was closed when Central Park was formally established in 1857.

In the early 19th century a number of German immigrants began to buy small plots of land in the area. They built their cottages at the rear of the lots and placed gardens in front. Nonetheless, Bloomingdale retained its rural character.

The Arrival of Industry

"Up to 1853 no more charming spot than Bloomingdale could be found. Then suddenly there came a change," stated Hopper Striker Mott in his history of Bloomingdale in 1908. Actually the crucial event took place in 1851 when the Hudson River Railroad opened a station and adjoining freight yards at 30th Street and Eleventh Avenue. The roadbed of the tracks ran northward on Eleventh Avenue to 59th Street. Industry soon followed, and with the industry, squatters' shacks and wooden tenements to house the

immigrant workers. Brickyards, lumberyards, lime kilns, stables, warehouses, distilleries, and the notorious slaughterhouses were among the industries which flourished in the 1850s.

From the 1860s through the 1880s industries continued to move into the area attracted by cheap real estate and cheap immigrant labor. The Metropolitan Gas Company and the Municipal Oxygen Gas Company were established along the river in the 1860s. The famed Higgins Carpet Factory employed many skilled Scotch workers, and the piano factories hired the Germans. A silk factory, a cotton factory, a wall paper factory, iron foundries, ornamental iron works, stone yards which cut brownstone from New Jersey, carriage factories, shipyards at West 48th Street, oyster fisheries at West 44th and 45th Street, sawmills at West 44th Street, and more slaughterhouses—all were established. By the end of the 1880s the area was solidly built up with tenements and industrial buildings.

Public transportation facilities also aided growth in the area. Street car lines were opened in the 1850s: the Sixth Avenue Railway in 1852, the Eighth Avenue Railway in 1854, and the Ninth Avenue Railway in 1859. More important was the Ninth Avenue "E1" which opened north of 30th Street in 1879. Soon

42nd Street and 8th Avenue looking west about 1879.
(Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society)



tenements and stores had sprung up along the entire line of the "El" tracks. One of the more colorful traditions associated with Ninth Avenue was "Paddy's Market," a pushcart bazaar which came out on Saturday nights between 38th and 42nd Streets.

Tenements Housed Laborers

Irish and German immigrants were moving into the area in ever increasing numbers, attracted by the many jobs. Among the occupations listed in the 19th-century census records are: gardener, mason, blacksmith, carpenter, rag picker, swillman, vegetable dealer, and butcher. The women often worked too—in the factories, taking in work at home related to the textile industry, as waitresses, as salesclerks, in laundries, or as midwives. The families were large, often crowded into two or three rooms in four or five-story tenements with no indoor plumbing.

Throughout the 19th century, prominent New York citizens were periodically seized with a need to instigate tenement reform. In 1866 the first law was enacted to regulate tenement houses. It required stairways to have banisters, multiple dwellings to have fire escapes, and a water closet or outside privy for every twenty tenants. The Board of Health ordered transoms cut in 46,000 unventilated rooms in 1869. A second law, passed in 1879, limited the percentage of a lot which could be occupied by buildings and stated that no room could be used for sleeping unless it had a window opening onto a street or court. A prize competition for model tenements resulted in the design of the "dumbbell" tenement or "railroad flat" with narrow airshafts. Many buildings of this type remain standing in Clinton today. A permanent Tenement House Commission was created in 1887.

Hell's Kitchen

Such living conditions, combined with unregulated, poor working conditions, did their part to foster anti-social behavior. The Irish of the area played prominent parts in the Draft Riot of 1863 and an Irish riot in 1871. Following the Civil War, the area gained its greatest notoriety and the name by which it was known for many years—"Hell's Kitchen." Most notorious were the gangs which specialized in raiding the rail and shipyards, as well as plaguing the local police. The original Hell's Kitchen Gang, headed by Dutch Heinrichs, was the most famous; others were the Tenth Avenue Gang, the Hudson Dusters, the Gophers, and the Dead Rabbits.

On September 22, 1881, the *New York Times* published the first account of living conditions in Hell's Kitchen. Their reporter had visited tenements with such names as The Barracks, the Hell's Kitchen Tenement, and the House of Blazes, and he was eager to reveal all. Other reporters seeking sensation followed, and soon "Hell's Kitchen" was known throughout the city. Jacob Riis, muckracking reporter and social reformer, vividly described it in 1890: "The

Historia

Clinton fué fundado cerca de 1850. Fué un barrio residencial que complementaba las industrias locales que en ese entonces dependían de los ferrocarriles. Era conocido como "Hell's Kitchen" por la gran abundancia de pandillas y los barrios bajos. Clinton creció relativamente estable como un vecindario pobre de la clase trabajadora. Diversas nacionalidades se instalaron aquí, entre ellos irlandeses, alemanes, griegos, italianos y últimamente los hispanos.

Mientras el centro comercial de Manhattan creció con sus grandes oficinas y teatros, el vecindario mantuvo su estado residencial de trabajadores. Hoy día continúa siendo residencial a pesar de las tremendas presiones que ha tenido.

nearer the river and the great workshops, the more numerous the tenements... Gas-houses, slaughterhouses and the docks, that attracted the roughest crowds and support the vilest saloons, invariably form slum-centers. The city is full of such above the line of Fourteenth Street... There is nothing below that line that can outdo in wickedness Hell's Kitchen, in the region of three-cent whiskey..."

Despite such conditions, the area had a certain sense of stability. The predominantly Irish and German population, many of whom were Catholic, generally got along well together. The Catholic churches, the most important of which was the Church of the Holy Cross, were active and vigorous forces in their parishes. Another important social institution, Roosevelt Hospital, at 59th Street and Ninth Avenue, was opened in 1871. Its trustees established a fund to support the poor in the hospital. They were to occupy half of the beds.

One of the city's oldest black communities had been established in the northern part of the area, west of Columbus Circle, by workers on the Croton Aqueducts in 1840-42. Near the end of the 19th century this area was known as San Juan Hill.

Improved Housing Conditions

With the beginning of the 20th century, conditions began to change for the better in the area. The Tenement House Act of 1901 stipulated that new tenements have larger, lighter and better ventilated rooms and better sanitary facilities. New "model" tenements with open courtyards were constructed. In 1910 a special task force of the New York Central Railroad combined with the police to crack down on the gangs. The population decreased steadily after 1910, and also became more diversified with the influx of Italians, Poles, Russians, Yugoslavians, Greeks, and Spaniards.

The establishment of DeWitt Clinton Park between

52nd and 54th Streets at Eleventh Avenue in 1901 gave the area its first large recreational space, replacing a recreational pier on the Hudson River at 50th Street. Created wholesale by the City on land obtained through condemnation proceedings, the park afforded a spot of relief among the factories and the tenements.

During World War I higher wages and unionization improved the lot of workers in New York City. The Clinton area also benefited. The first Teamsters Union local in the country was organized on 39th Street.

Modern Times

Many of the soldiers of the 165th Infantry of the Rainbow Division, also called the Fighting 69th or the Fighting Irish, were from Clinton; they distinguished themselves in a number of important World War I battles. The regimental chaplain, Father Duffy, was appointed to the Church of the Holy Cross on West 42nd Street in 1920. He made his parish house a center for many famous theatrical, literary, political, and sports figures.

The prohibition era brought speakeasies and bootleg gangs, along with varying degrees of violence, although nothing to match 19th-century Hell's Kitchen.

More changes took place in the 1930s. In the process of building the approaches to the Lincoln Tunnel between 34th and 42nd Streets many of the worst tenements were destroyed. The New York Central Railroad finally dropped its tracks below the surface of Eleventh Avenue. The pushcarts of Paddy's Market under the Ninth Avenue "El" tracks were removed under court order. Paddy's Market returned to Ninth Avenue, but now the merchants are in permanent stores. The "El" tracks were removed during World War II.

Other influences from the business and entertainment worlds began to make themselves felt. The architecturally-noteworthy McGraw-Hill Building at 330 West 42nd Street, west of Eighth Avenue, was built in 1930. During the 1930s three new piers were built on the Hudson to accommodate ocean liners. A number of artists unsuccessfully tried to establish themselves in the area with the hope of attracting tourists to buy their paintings. The Broadway theatres at Times Square attracted related businesses which spilled over west of Eighth Avenue. The Film Center at 44th Street and Ninth Avenue hosted 72 motion picture distributors, indicating the importance of this new entertainment medium. Incidentally such well-known figures in the entertainment world as Alice Faye, Ruby Keeler, James Cagney, Pat O'Brien and George Raft grew up in old Hell's Kitchen.

By the 1940s the name "Hell's Kitchen" was becoming objectionable to many people, and its was gradually replaced by the title of "Clinton."

Existing Conditions

Land Use

Since its beginnings in the mid-1800's, Clinton has been a relatively low income neighborhood where working class people found cheap but adequate housing near to their places of employment, which at that time meant the waterfront, local warehouses, and factories. Its orientation has changed very little since that time, and this is reflected in its land uses. Industry's need to concentrate near waterborn transportation gave rise to the warehousing and light manufacturing uses between 11th and 12th Avenues. This was reinforced and expanded by the presence of the railroad, originally on 11th Avenue, and later relocated in the cut just west of 10th Avenue. The original residential buildings sprang up wherever space could be found. Ultimately, a formidable residential community established itself, mainly east of 10th Avenue. This residential community has come to be known as Clinton.

Mixed uses abound

It would be misleading, however, to suggest that the area is neatly divided by 10th Avenue (i.e., industrial uses to the west and residential uses to the east). Portions of land west of 10th Avenue are now used for residential buildings. Specifically, the Clinton Urban Renewal area from 50th Street to 56th Street, 10th to 11th Avenues will be given over to housing and related uses, except for sites presently owned by the Telephone Company or other permanent, commercial, and industrial uses which constitute just over one quarter of the (Urban Renewal) area. Likewise, just south of the Urban Renewal area and continuing down the west side of 10th Avenue, there are a

significant number of housing units.

On the other hand, some areas in the residential sector, east of 10th Avenue, have been developed for industry-related uses, particularly between 53rd and 55th Streets near 10th Avenue and in the lower 40's between 8th and 9th Avenues.

Meanwhile, the 8th and 9th Avenue frontages, emulating City-wide characteristics, are heavily commercial in nature, at least on the ground floors. Typically, 4 or 5 stories of housing combine with street level commercial to form an integrated avenue frontage. Additionally, there are a few streets, such as 46th Street between 8th and 9th Avenues, which have a strong commercial base much like an avenue, but are still primarily residential in character.

Regardless of its nominal land use districts, there is another category into which much of Clinton's land falls, i.e., vacancy. Over 16% of Clinton's land area is being held totally vacant or is devoted to parking lots. This is direct evidence of the destructive character of speculation in Clinton.

Waterfront changing in use & character

The waterfront, which has a character of its own, is not entirely given over to ocean-going concerns. Although Clinton's "finger piers" were once teeming with cargo, they have not been able to compete with the larger and more sophisticated container ports in Brooklyn and Port Elizabeth for their share of the diminishing cargo trade. As a consequence, new and varied uses now occupy the piers. These uses include the Circle Line piers at 42nd Street, the proposed Convention Center, the new Passenger Ship Terminal, the Police Department's towed-away-car storage area, a Con Edison fuel storage facility, and a Sanitation

Department marine facility. The piers are in a state of transition as far as use is concerned. The cargo will probably not come back, but other enterprises seem to adapt quite readily to the waterfront as a commercial-industrial location.

Altogether, Clinton contains a considerable representation of all three major land use types in a fairly predictable but not inviolate pattern. These existing land uses and those currently planned will play a large part in determining the zoning of the area under the special zoning district.

Traffic & Transportation

Mass transit

As indicated above, land use and transportation are closely related. Just as the 11th Avenue railroad sparked the early growth of the industrial sector of Clinton, so the introduction of the 8th Avenue subway encouraged residential development along its route. While the railroad has lost its significance for most local industry, the subway, though it is located on the edge of Clinton, retains its importance as the residential community's chief mode of transportation. Additional mass transit is provided for residents by local bus routes on 8th, 9th, and 10th Avenues as well as crosstown service on 42nd and 57th Streets and the 49th-50th Street loop.

Traffic a major problem

Like virtually all of Manhattan, Clinton is served by a grid street system with long narrow street blocks and short, wide avenue blocks. Its section of the grid,



Much of Clinton's traffic and physical deterioration are related to the area's many parking lots. Right: 46th Street offers the diversity of restaurants typical of Clinton's commercial activity.

however, is somewhat peculiar in that it features no major crosstown street between 42nd and 57th Streets. Ordinarily, one would expect such an east-west corridor every 9 or 10 blocks. Considering Clinton's proximity to such major vehicle-related facilities as the Lincoln Tunnel, the Port Authority bus terminal, and the West Side Highway, it is not surprising that the daily confluence of traffic often stretches back into Clinton on 9th and 10th Avenues and on many of the local streets. In addition, a great number of parking lots servicing midtown are distributed indiscriminately throughout the area.

It is estimated that if there were no such automobile intensive development adjacent to Clinton, the daily traffic in Clinton would be only 20 to 40% of its present volume. Since almost 90% of Clinton's households do not have any automobile, it is clear that Clinton is bearing the brunt of City-wide traffic patterns rather than creating its own traffic problems.

Accent on pedestrian travel

One of the most significant aspects of the local transportation picture has to do with neither the mass transit system nor vehicular traffic patterns. The fact is that approximately 34% of the residents of Clinton walk to work. This is twice the average for the City. Again, this reflects the close relationship between land use and transportation. It also points up, when one considers the energy-efficiency of this arrangement, the rationality of matching local housing to local jobs—in this case low income housing to blue collar industrial and service jobs.

LOCAL ECONOMY

Local labor and local jobs

According to the 1970 census the Clinton Study Area (CSA) had a resident labor force of some 17,865 persons, which was 20% below its 1960 level. The CSA's overall unemployment rate stood at 5.7% of the work force, compared to just under 4% for the City as a whole.

There is an important though unfortunately, unquantifiable link between residents and jobs in Clinton. As mentioned above, 34% of all workers residing in Clinton walked to their jobs as of 1970. However, it is not possible to tell from this how many actually work within Clinton itself. For example 38% of the CSA's employed residents work within the census defined Central Business District. In addition to this 38% working within the CBD, another 16% of the CSA's employed residents work outside Manhattan altogether. This leaves 46% who work inside Manhattan but outside of the Central Business District. The Office of Midtown Planning and Development estimates that perhaps as much as 40% of Clinton's labor force works within the area's boundaries.



Manufacturing jobs leaving

While it is encouraging to note that such a high proportion of Clinton residents can, and do, work in local industries, the overall picture of local business is not entirely optimistic. As noted earlier, much of Clinton's western half is devoted to light industry and warehousing. But Clinton has not been immune to the general decline in manufacturing jobs in Manhattan (a drop of 14% from 1964 to 1972.) Furthermore, it is also suffering from the same problems: high labor costs, obsolete industrial buildings, chronic congestion, etc. These problems are no more soluble on the local level than they are on the City-wide level.

On the other hand, there are strong points within the industrial sector. The printing industry is still vital to the central business district and has probably remained in Clinton because of the obvious locational advantages.

Likewise in the service sector, which is the major part of Clinton's employment base, film making, auto servicing, and hotel-motel related jobs are considered the healthiest local enterprises.

The wholesaling and retailing sector is fairly strong, representing slightly more jobs than does manufacturing. Ninth Avenue is widely known, not only as a local convenience shopping strip where Italian, Greek, and Spanish foods can be found, but also as a popular shopping area for fresh fruits, vegetables, and meats. It is patronized by a wide spectrum of Manhattanites. Similarly, 10th Avenue has a wide variety of wholesale outlets. Many of Midtown's restaurant, entertainment, and other businesses rely on suppliers located on 10th Avenue for records, displays, and equipment.

Employment concentrations varied

In summary, local businesses employ approximately 24,000 people, mainly in the three sectors cited above; 36% in the service sector, 21% in wholesale and retail, and 20% in manufacturing. These are the same three employment sectors that

employ the bulk of Clinton's residents. Although no definite figures are available from the employers themselves, this gives further support to the concept of Clinton as a balanced community where working class people can both live and work. Furthermore, not only do the residents depend upon local enterprise for employment, but local merchants depend upon the residents for their patronage. There is a delicate symbiotic relationship between these two. This balance is threatened by the same disruptive elements cited above as responsible for the inordinate amount of vacant land in Clinton. Along the 9th Avenue retail strip, for example, over 62% of the vacant stores are held by 7 known land assemblers. Rent gouging and short leasing are common complaints directed against many of these owners of commercial properties. Such practices not only threaten to deprive Clinton residents of their local shopping opportunities, but also threaten an important source of local jobs.

Retailing still strong in Clinton

Table 1 shows the distribution of retail sales in retail stores within the CSA by census tract. As can be seen there, there is a tendency for the smallest stores to locate in census tracts 127, 129, and 104 and for the larger stores to locate in census tracts 121 and, particularly, census tract 135. Table 2 shows the distribution of Clinton stores by type of store and by census tract. The two principal kinds of retail outlets in the CSA are eating and drinking places and food stores. As of 1967, close to 39% of the CSA retail outlets consisted of eating and drinking places. The comparable figures for Manhattan and for the New York region were only 26% and 21% respectively. Clinton's disproportionate share of eating and drinking places reflects the fact that the large part of its retail sector is oriented to serving the needs of the office work force in mid-Manhattan and to the fact that a significant part of the city's entertainment district is located either within the CSA or on its immediate periphery. There are no direct figures on the amount or number of jobs generated by retailing in Clinton. However, using a benchmark figure as of 1967 of \$20,000 to \$25,000 in sales per employee (including proprietors), the employment of retail stores within Clinton is estimated to be in the 2500 to 3500 range (out of a total estimated employment in the CSA of about 24,000).

A high proportion of Clinton's existing stores occupy obsolete quarters which hinder their expansion. Retail operations in Clinton are typically housed in ground-floor stores located in multifamily dwellings. The typical CSA retail outlet has always been heavily impacted by the residential environment of its surrounding neighborhood. The physical configuration of the buildings in which the stores are located obviously limits their expansion possibilities. However, this factor has only assumed real importance in the last couple of decades when the possibilities of realizing significant economies of scale in retailing began to manifest themselves. Newer retail stores of all types are much more capital intensive than their predecessors were. As a result the average outlet in order to be competitive requires more space in order to operate efficiently. One indication of this tendency within the CSA's retail sector is reflected in the increase which has taken place in constant dollar sales per outlet. The total number of stores in Midtown declined by 35% between 1958 and 1967 while constant dollar sales have only declined by 15%. As a result the average sales per store, in constant dollars, rose by 31%.

In general, the retail picture in Clinton is fairly healthy. Although the stores are usually quite small, most occupying only a 25 foot frontage, average sales per outlet are at about 86% of average sales per outlet for Manhattan as a whole.

Significant in terms of numbers of employees, but even more important to Clinton's character are the numerous local restaurants, many of high quality. In recognition of their contribution to the area, West 46th Street has been renamed "Restaurant Row." It is this recognition of the strengths rather than the weaknesses of local businesses that will allow Clinton to continue as an attractive place to live, work, and visit.

TABLE 1
Number of Retail Outlets and Retail Sales in the CSA
by Census Tract, 1967

Census Tract	Number of Stores	Sales (\$000)	Sales Per Store (\$000)
121	90	14,699	163
127	101	11,208	111
129	20	2,114	106
133	89	9,282	104
135	23	17,064	742
139	116	16,731	144
Total	439	71,098	162

Source: Unpublished data from U.S. Census of Business, Retail Trade (made available from the New York Planning Commission Sales Project).

TABLE 2
Distribution of Retail Outlets by Type of Store Within the CSA by Census Tract

Type of Outlet	Total	Number of Stores by Census Tract					
		121	127	129	133	135	139
Food Group	88	19	20	7	24	1	17
Eating & drinking places	170	35	40	7	34	9	45
Genl Mdse Group	11	1	3	—	—	1	6
Apparel	42	6	11	1	12	2	10
Furn. & Appliances 2	12	3	2	—	3	1	3
Automotive Group	9	1	—	1	2	5	—
Lumber, Bldg, etc.	12	5	2	—	1	2	2
Drug Stores	15	5	3	—	2	—	5
Liquor Stores	13	3	3	1	1	1	4
Other Retail Stores	67	12	17	3	10	1	24
TOTAL	439	90	101	20	89	23	116

Population

Total population declining

There are fewer Clintonites than there used to be. Since the 1950's Clinton's total population has been declining. In 1970, it had reached 33,962, a drop over 16,000 from its high in 1950. This loss in population is counter to City-wide trends for the same time period. However, it should not be interpreted as a willing exodus of Clinton residents. The high demand for apartments in Clinton is reflected in its low vacancy rate, reported by O.M.P.D. as 2.9% as compared with the Manhattan-wide vacancy rate of 3.8%. The explanation for this dramatic decline in population is more likely to be found in the actions of property owners rather than in the voluntary exodus of tenants. For example, while Clinton's population declined 19% (from 40,456 to 33,962) between 1960 and 1970, it also lost 2,304 housing units from its stock of low income housing. These units are typically larger than the new units that have been built in west midtown. Therefore, to a large extent, the loss of population can be directly attributed to the destruction of Clinton's low income housing stock in anticipation of the westward expansion of the CBD. Since the office boom has abated and the community has risen to its own defense, large scale destruction of housing has slackened. Meanwhile, the City has committed itself to Clinton's future as one of its preservation neighborhoods. Protected from the redevelopment forces that would ultimately destroy it, Clinton has enough inherent strength to prevent any further decline in its population.

Composition of population stable

The basis for such optimism can be discovered through a more thorough look at the characteristics of Clinton's residents. Even in the midst of the dramatic drop in total population cited above, most of the other significant parameters remained relatively stable. The 1970 census showed a slight rise in the non-white population from 4% to 9% while showing a slight decline in the Puerto Rican population in absolute terms. There was also a slight decline in the total number of elderly, although in percentage terms they too increased slightly. This is not surprising, since the elderly are in general less mobile than the young and are more reluctant to move in instances where they would lose rent controlled units by doing so. Overall the population remains largely white with heavy concentrations of Italian, Irish, Greek and Spanish ethnics, many of long standing in the Clinton community.

In terms of economic status, Clinton's population is definitely of low income, with over half the families earning under \$8,000 per annum. Median family income is about \$7,800, but there are fewer extremely rich and fewer extremely poor than one would expect from City-wide averages. Furthermore, Clinton's level of income has remained almost constant relative to the rest of the City in recent years.

A statistical portrait

Table 3 presents selected characteristics of the population and households living within the CSA as of 1970. Of its 17,800 households, 7,500 were family households (i.e., two or more related persons living together) and 10,200 were primary individual households (usually single persons living alone, but sometimes also including other unrelated persons). A very high proportion of Clinton's family households consist of only two persons. While a high proportion of Clinton's one- and two-person households are low or moderate income elderly, it also has a substantial contingent of considerably younger and much more affluent smaller size households. These are located overwhelmingly in its northwestern portion, within census tract 139.

The CSA, as it has been defined here, is far from an economically homogeneous area. The most substantial differences are those between census tract 139 and the other tracts (See Table 4). The average income of family households in census tract 139 is \$13,200 which is well above the comparable figure for the New York metropolitan region as a whole. In contrast, the average family income in the other census tracts within Clinton range from a low of \$6,500 (census tract 129) to a high of \$9,700 (census tract 121). Excluding census tract 139, the average family income is \$8,900 which is approximately twenty percent below the average family income in the New York metropolitan region. Similar differences show up with respect to the average income of primary individual households. The district-wide average of just over \$7,000 ranges by census tract, from \$4,200 (census tract 129); to \$7,800 (census tract 139). The average income of primary individual households in census tract 139 is well above the average income for this class of households in the remainder of the CSA. Thus, the northwestern portion is as can be readily seen, heavily dominated by a relatively affluent group

of younger and smaller households. Eighty-eight percent of census tract 139's households have either only one or two persons in them. For the balance of the CSA, the comparable figure is 72 percent. This seems to be typical of older working class areas in other parts of New York City, whose households, including a very high proportion of what are now single person households, represent the surviving members of what were once larger family units.

Taken together, all these factors describe a comparatively stable working class community, with ethnic and age mixes fairly typical of the City as a whole. Its total population has probably levelled off at about 34,000 and will begin rising if new development is encouraged in appropriate locations.

Housing

Over 86% of Clinton's population resides between 8th and 10th Avenues between 42nd and 57th Streets. Except for the northeastern corner of this area, the scale of the residential buildings is quite low. Most of the streets are lined with unpretentious-looking five and six story multiple dwellings with stoops and window boxes. The human scale and feeling of the area is in marked contrast to the anonymous, steel and glass canyons just a few blocks to the east.

Old Law tenements dominate

Things are quite different on the inside too. Approximately 75% of the residential structures in Clinton are Old Law tenements constructed prior to 1901. Since these buildings are smaller than more modern buildings, they comprise only 61% of the total number of dwelling units in Clinton. Additionally, 14% of the units are in New Law tenements and 20% are in post-1929 Class A structure.

As Table 5 shows, there are 967 residential buildings in the CSA. Of these, ninety-nine percent are multi-family structures (defined as buildings with three or more housing units). Ninety-three percent of these multi-family buildings are walkups. There are only 64 elevator buildings throughout the CSA. More than half of these are in census tract 139, which only accounts for fourteen percent of the overall number of residential buildings within the CSA. Excluding census tract 139, ninety-seven percent of Clinton's multi-family buildings are walkups. It is these walkup

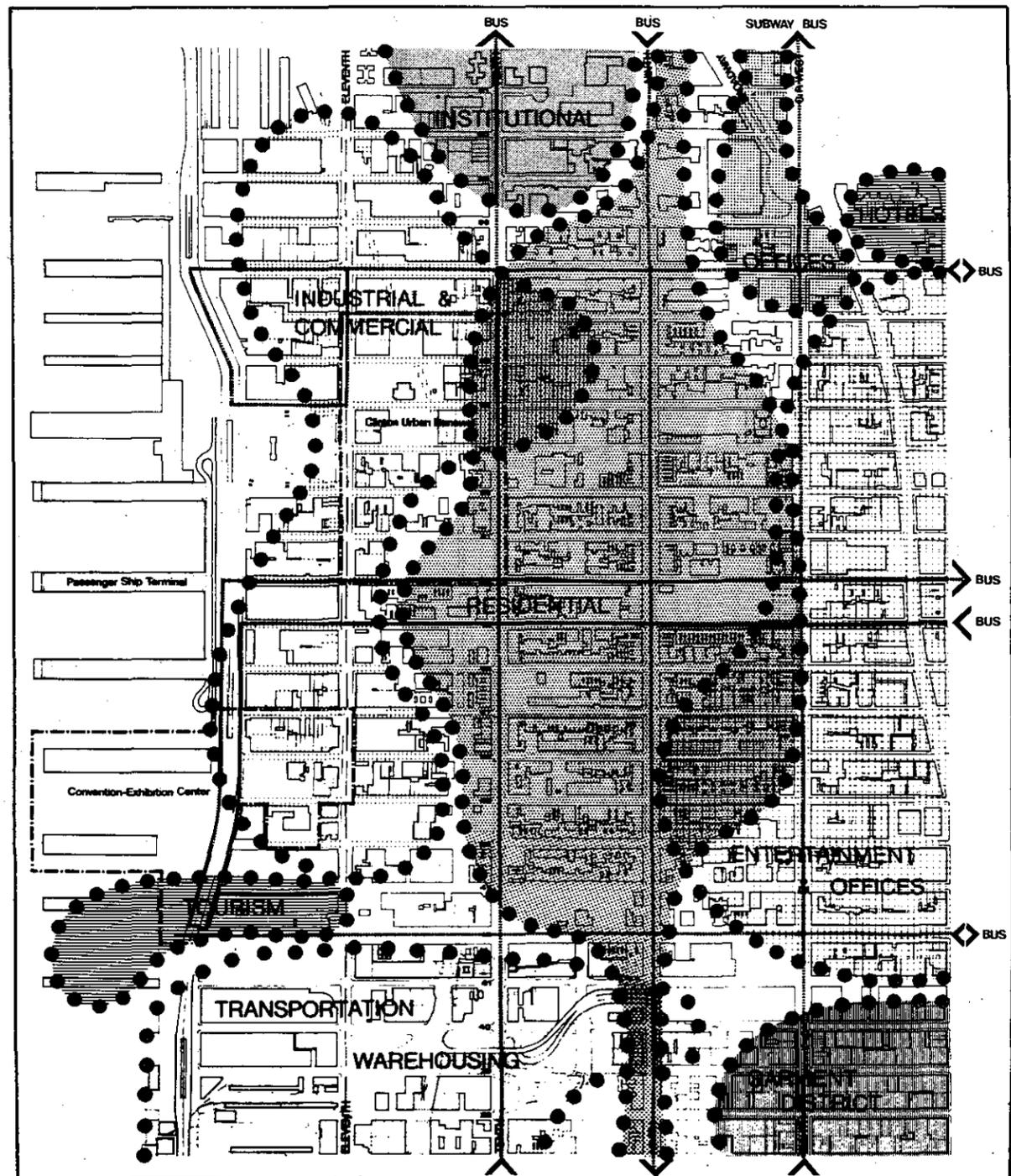
structures, the overwhelming portion of which were built at very low standards before 1901 which make up the inventory that will have to be dealt with if Clinton is to become a reasonably desirable housing resource for low and moderate income households in Manhattan.

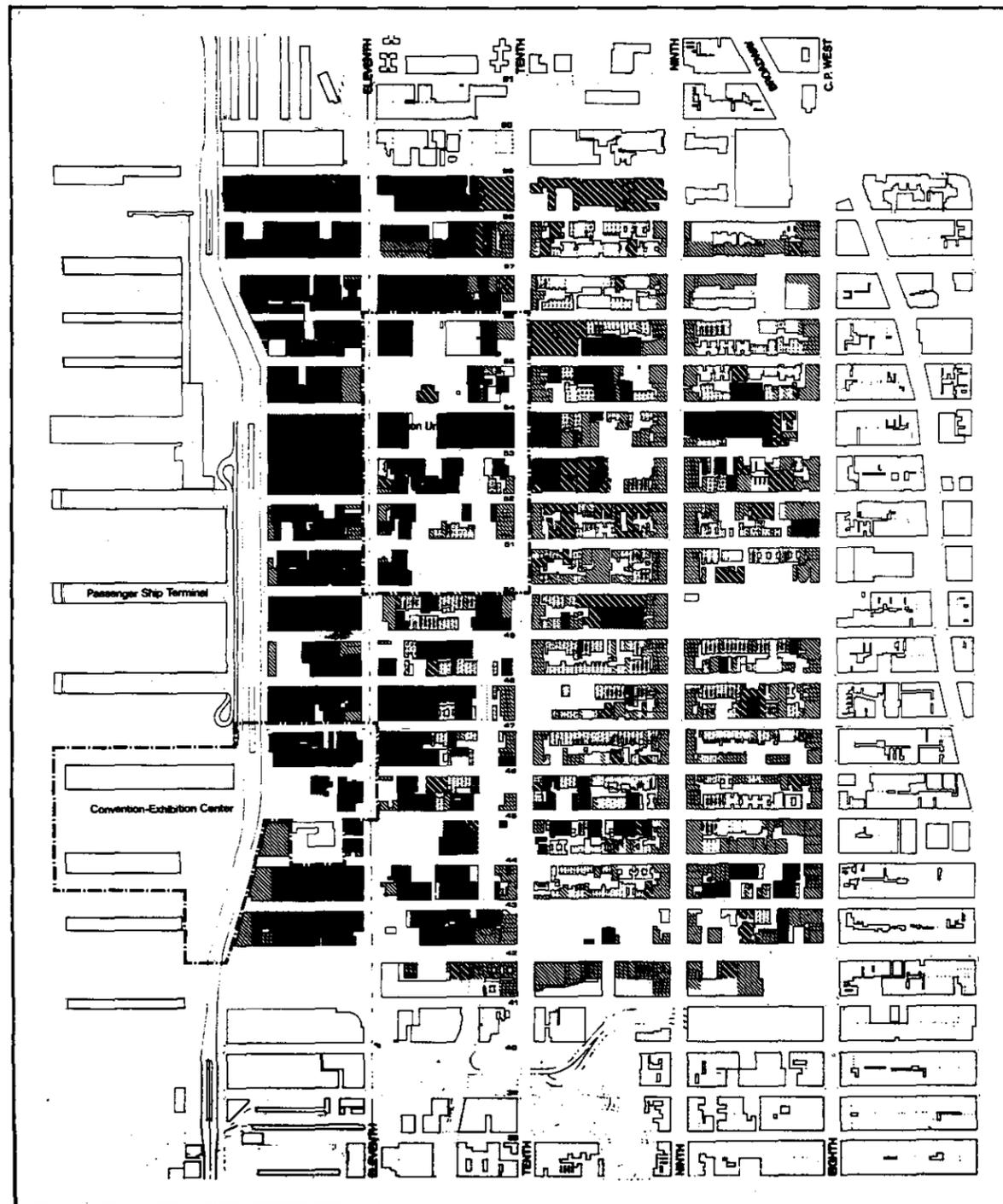
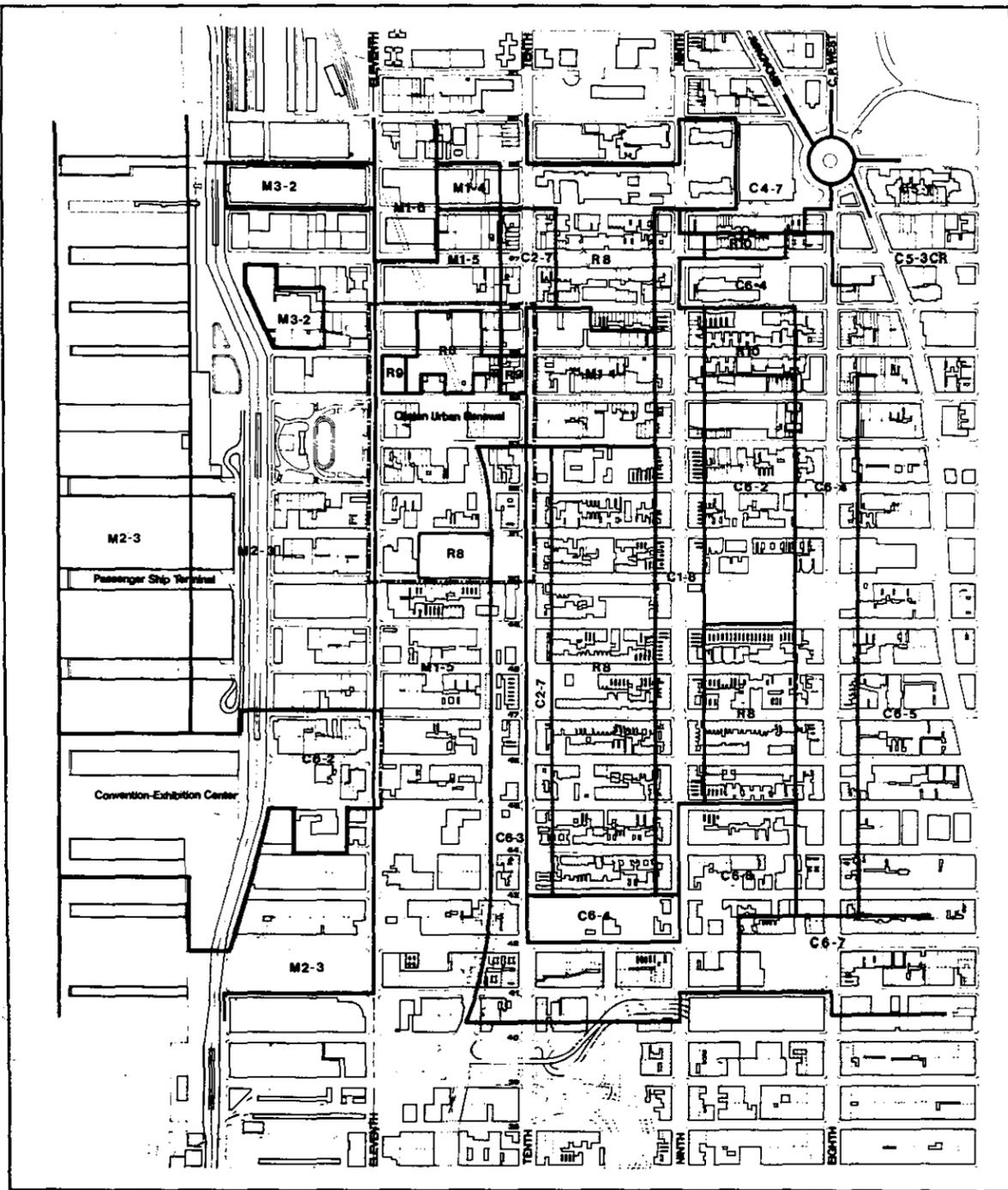
Obviously, Clinton has an old housing stock by any standard. However, in comparison to other areas of equal age, Clinton is generally in better condition. It is a tribute to their original builders and later residents that these buildings still serve as sound shelters for the majority of Clinton's present population. Nevertheless, Clinton's housing is not immortal and the majority of the dwellings will need at least minimum or moderate rehabilitation in the near future.

Rents in Clinton

Rents are quite low, many of them still under the MBR program. As of 1970, the average annual contract rent on an apartment in Clinton was \$1,296 (\$1,025 if census tract 139 is excluded). Omitting census tract 139, (See Table 6) the highest contract rent is in census tract 121 of \$1,200 and the lowest is in census tract 129 where it is less than \$750. For the CSA as a whole, the contract rent-income ratio was sixteen percent in 1970. Excluding census tract 139, the comparable figure is below fifteen percent. If the rent-income ratio is calculated on a gross rent basis, i.e., including utilities such as gas and electric in addition to other contract rent, the district-wide figure is twenty percent. Once again, it is considerably lower - at slightly over seventeen percent - if census tract 139 is excluded. As the accompanying table shows, there is a considerable disparity among the census tracts with regard to prevailing gross rent-income ratios. It is at its lowest in census tract 135, whose rentals were undoubtedly depressed by the imminence of urban renewal activity. From the point of view of a property owner, the relevant ratio is the one between contract rents and average household incomes. Tenants however are also obviously concerned with their total housing expenditures in which case a gross rent concept is the more useful one. The highest gross rent-income ratio is recorded in affluent census tract 139. For the remaining census tracts, the gross rent-income ratio ranges between sixteen and eighteen percent. The residents of Clinton's walkup structures seem to spend about seventeen percent of

FUNCTIONAL AREAS





EXISTING ZONING

their incomes on housing if the basis for calculation is gross rent, and about fifteen percent if the basis is contract rent. If one uses a figure of twenty-five percent as the appropriate portion that rent and related expenses should represent of a spending unit's income, then it appears as if there is some latitude for increasing the rents paid by households in Clinton without at the same time unduly straining their ability to purchase other necessary goods and services.

We see then, that except for the northeast corner where redevelopment for luxury housing has removed much low income housing, rents average well below \$100 per month. Such rents should be quoted within the context of the quality of housing they buy: Old Law tenements averaging 4½ zoning rooms per unit, many times with shared bathrooms and air shafts, obsolete wiring and plumbing. In the northeast corner of Clinton, the new luxury housing is not intended for large working class families. There rents are about 80% higher, rooms per unit 20% fewer, and average family size 33% lower. This is clearly a different type of housing for a different set of people. In its own way, the unguided development of this type of housing is as destructive to Clinton's low income community as the threatened westward expansion of the office district. Ultimately, either one could destroy Clinton as it exists today.

Community Facilities

The identity of a particular community, both to residents and non-residents, is often keyed to certain community facilities such as schools, hospitals, churches, and parks. In describing a location within the neighborhood, residents regularly use these institutions as reference points from which to take their bearings. Aside from their value as symbols and signposts, however, local facilities also fulfill many of the basic needs of their surrounding neighborhood.

Schools in Clinton are in fairly good shape capacity-wise, although some are aging. The following table details Clinton's three local schools:

School	Enrollment	Capacity
P.S. 51	577	516
P.S. 111	933	1028
JHS 17	648	1002

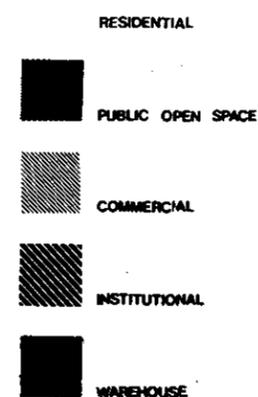
Clinton's parochial schools, Sacred Heart, Holy Cross, and St. Paul's are roughly at capacity with 500 students each. These students could not be absorbed by the local school system, although this may become a necessity. Rising costs and lack of State or Federal aid are making it increasingly difficult to operate these facilities. This, however, is not a local but a national issue.

Overcrowding, then, could become a problem, except in the case of Junior High School 17. Hopefully, none of the parochials will be forced to close or to curtail their operations.

Clinton has two academic High Schools; however, they do not serve Clinton directly. One is Haaren High School, a public school oriented toward students with discipline and motivation problems. The other is Yeshiva University High School for Girls, with a City-wide catchment area. Likewise, the New York School of Printing is located in, but not oriented to, Clinton. Clinton also hosts P.S. 58, a "special school" which draws its students from a much wider area than Clinton.

Hospitals are perhaps Clinton's strongest point. With three major hospitals containing over 1,500 general care beds, Clinton is more than adequately served. Additionally, each hospital, Roosevelt, French Polyclinic, and St. Clare's, provides some out-patient

GROUND FLOOR LAND USE



Most of Clinton's residents live in five story tenements, which require rehabilitation, but offer rent and scale difficult to reproduce.

services. However, these may not be adequate for future demands.

Clinton also has 3 nursing home, 9 drug related facilities, 3 day care centers, and a mental health facility, Fountain House.

Churches are unusually important institutions in Clinton. In communities such as Clinton, where a large segment of the population has historically identified with a particular set of religious institutions, there exists a potential for much more than spiritually oriented activities. Not only do the churches sponsor and administrate the parochial schools in the area, they also sponsor many social programs and events. They provide a neighborhood level communications system and a meeting place where community members can organize around issues of local concern.

Open space is at a premium in Clinton; there is relatively little true park space in the area except for Dewitt Clinton Park which is far to the west of the bulk of the residential population.

In Clinton's residential core, there are only two playground, 43rd and 46th Streets, and one park, 47th Street. Of these, only the 43rd Street playground is a usable resource for local residents. The Parks Department is in the process of preparing plans for the other two facilities. Aside from these real and contemplated public facilities, there are only the school playgrounds, often inadequate in size, equipment, and maintenance, to serve the entire Clinton community.

Speculation, Assemblage, and Development

In view of Clinton's age, housing stock, and the relatively low income of its residents, it is apparent that public action is required to reverse the decline of the area's housing stock and to bolster its sagging economic base. But there are other, extraordinary forces threatening Clinton that ultimately have as much, if not more, influence on Clinton's future than do the endemic factors noted above.

Real estate speculation has adverse impact on housing

For years, the prospect of a westward moving office district has displaced residents of Clinton, discouraged long term investment in its older housing, and encouraged speculative land investments on the part of those who had no interest in Clinton's future except insofar as it led to appreciation of property values. Naturally, when continued over a long period of time, such speculative investment patterns are bound to have adverse effects upon the life of the subject community. For example, the very existence of such speculation pushes up land values, raising taxes, and therefore rents. Investors who own residential properties are often slow to operate these properties as responsible landlords. In order to free a property from any encumbrance that might discourage a buyer, speculators often vacate and/or demolish the residential structures which happen to be on their property.

Table 7 shows that the average assessed value of walkups in the CSA is \$63,400. This is nearly twice the average for New York City as a whole. This is so despite the fact that the typical Clinton walkup is considerably older, considerably smaller, and considerably more lacking in certain critical amenities such as plumbing facilities. It should be obvious that the high average assessed values prevailing within Clinton reflect its location with relation to Midtown Manhattan and the consequent possibility of its being re-developed for other higher yielding economic uses. The magnitude of assessed valuations currently prevailing in Clinton indicates the market's judgment as to the value of its Midtown Manhattan location. But assessments are determined by the tax assessor. He is aided in his judgment, of course, by recent transactions, involving comparable kinds of property, in the CSA. In doing so he tries to take into account the longterm market value of the location in Clinton, and has given much less weight to the market values implied by its existing uses. Taken by themselves, existing uses would obviously call for much lower assessed values.

Table 8 shows the relationship, by census tract, between three variables: the average annual contract rent, real property taxes per housing unit, and the assessed value per housing unit. The relationships between these three variables are obviously critical ones as far as the economical operation of residential

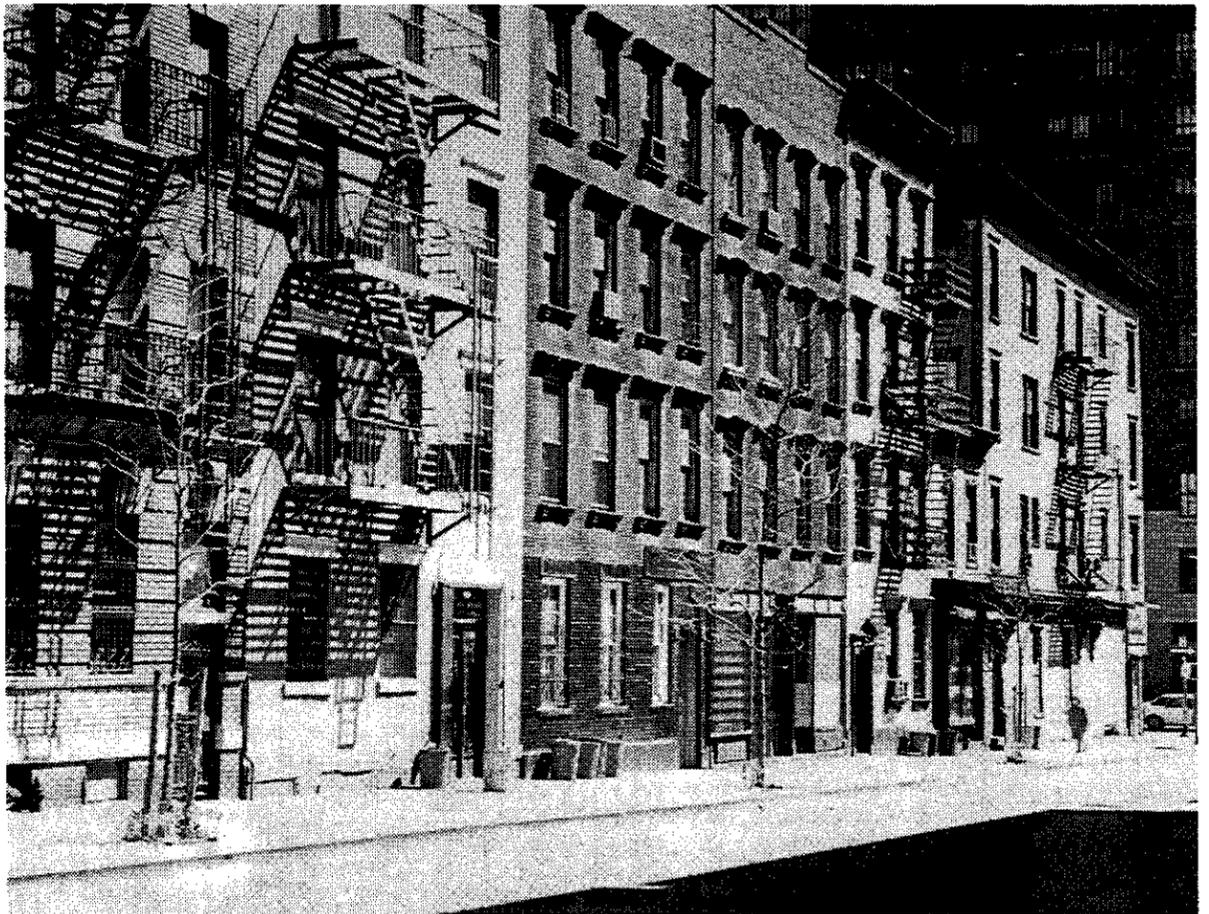


TABLE 3
Selected Characteristics of Households in Clinton Study Area by Census Tract, 1970

Items	Census Tract	Total	121	127	129	133	135	139
Household total		17,780	3,327	3,998	1,376	2,511	602	5,963
Families		7,538	1,209	2,011	731	1,262	337	1,988
Primary individuals		10,242	2,118	1,987	645	1,249	265	3,975
Exhibit								
1 & 2 person households, total		14,165	2,799	2,833	960	1,911	387	5,275
1-person		9,175	1,911	1,715	583	1,107	238	3,621
2-persons		4,990	888	1,118	377	804	149	1,654
Average Income (\$)								
Families & unrelated individuals		8,206	6,593	6,511	5,305	6,449	6,857	9,449
Families		9,814	9,671	8,287	6,472	8,780	9,349	13,166
Unrelated individuals		7,023	5,178	4,877	4,244	4,558	4,352	7,824
Median Contract Rent (\$)		91	74	66	53	67	54	138
Median Gross Rent (\$)		101	82	79	67	79	72	145
Exhibit								
Rent/Income Ratio *								
Contract Rent		18	17	14	14	15	10	22
Gross Rent		20	18	17	18	17	14	23

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing
* Calculated on the basis of median income and rent figures.

TABLE 4
Average Household Income by Type of Household by Census Tract in the CSA, 1970

Census Tract	No. of Family Hshlds	Aver. Family Income (\$)	Total Family Income (\$000)	No. of Primary Individual Hshlds	Aver. Income of Primary Indiv. Hshlds (\$)	Total Primary Hshld Income (\$000)	Total Income, All Hshlds (\$000)
121	1,209	9,700	11.7	2,118	5,900	12.5	24.2
127	2,011	8,300	16.7	1,987	5,800	11.5	28.2
129	731	6,500	4.8	645	4,800	3.1	7.9
133	1,262	8,800	11.1	1,249	5,300	6.6	17.7
135	337	9,300	3.1	265	5,100	13.5	16.5
139	1,988	13,200	26.2	3,975	8,700	34.5	60.7
TOTAL	7,538	9,800	73.6	10,239	8,000	81.7	155.3

TABLE 5
CSA Selected Characteristics of Housing Stock, 1970-72

Total	Number of Residential Buildings	Multi-Family Buildings			Total Number of Year-Round Housing Units	Total Number of Occupied Housing Units	Vacancy Rate	Average Number of Housing Units Per Building	Average Number of Rooms Per Housing Unit	Total Number of Rooms Per Building
		Total	Walkups	Elevator Apartments						
121	217	214	203	11	3,597	3,327	7.5	17	2.5	43
127	300	297	291	6	4,255	3,998	6.0	14	3.1	43
129	80	80	80	—	1,450	1,376	5.1	18	3.0	54
133	188	185	176	9	2,714	2,511	7.5	14	3.0	42
135	42	40	38	2	640	602	5.9	15	3.6	54
139	140	140	104	36	6,128	5,963	2.7	44	2.3	101
TOTAL	967	956	892	64	18,784	17,777	5.4	19	2.7	51
Excluding 139	827	816	788	28	12,656	11,814	7.1	15	2.9	44

Sources: Data relating to buildings is from Real Property Assessment Department, City of New York; Data relating to housing units is from U.S. Census of Housing.

TABLE 6
Relationship Between Rent and Income in CSA by Census Tract, 1970

Census Tract	Average Household Income	Average Annual Contract Rent	Average Annual Gross Rent	Contract Rent as a Percent of Income	Gross Rent as a Percent of Income
121	7,300	1,182	1,320	16.2	18.1
127	7,100	1,032	1,147	14.5	16.2
129	5,700	744	886	13.1	15.5
133	7,000	984	1,246	14.1	17.8
135	7,500	792	932	10.5	12.4
139	10,200	1,824	2,432	17.9	23.8
TOTAL	8,100	1,296	1,628	16.0	20.1
Excluding 139	7,000	1,025	1,212	14.6	17.3



The West Side Highway cuts off pedestrian access to the waterfront, a major open space resource in mid-town Manhattan.

properties in Clinton are concerned. For example, the higher the ratio is between contract rent and assessed values, the more favorable the situation for the property owner. On a district-wide basis, this ratio between contract rent and assessed value in Clinton is twenty-one percent. The comparable figure for New York City as a whole for multifamily structures is 24%. The average assessed value within the CSA, excluding census tract 139, is just under \$5,000 per housing unit. This compares to a citywide average for multifamily structures of \$5,500 per housing unit. Real property taxes on a district-wide basis represent 29% of contract rent. The comparable figure for the city as a whole is 24%. Thus, nearly 3 out of every 10 dollars paid in rents by residents of Clinton go to defray locally imposed real estate taxes. Obviously, this is a very important component of the cost of doing business in the housing sector in Clinton as it is throughout New York City.

Speculation does not occur without reason, nor does it occur within a vacuum. Sooner or later, development (or in the case of Clinton, redevelopment) follows in its path. Thus far, the process has reached this stage only in Clinton's northeast corner and, in some isolated instances, on the major thoroughfares that form Clinton's boundaries. Wherever it has culminated in redevelopment, the results have been fairly predictable: the displacement of low income families, the destruction of large low income dwelling units, the erection of more, smaller, high rent units, and the influx of the more affluent, primary individual households. This would be enough to raise the concern of the Clinton community, but redevelopment does not confine its influence to one

particular site or building. It gradually changes the character of whole blocks and, if unrestrained, whole neighborhoods; bringing with it higher priced retail facilities which replace the marginal local stores that are such an integral part of a low income community. Eventually, even local institutions must close down or radically alter their orientation to survive in new surroundings. On the face of it, redevelopment merely implies the replacement of an old building with a new one, but somewhere in between a neighborhood and a community are destroyed.

The unguided spread of midtown was already threatening Clinton's existence before anyone had even conceived of developing a convention center. However, the impact of the Convention and Exhibition Center cannot simply be lumped in with general midtown development trends. As the promoters of the Center are quick to point out, it is to be the largest facility of its kind in the United States, attracting 75,000 people per day during its peak operating periods. The major problems created by the Convention Center's congestion, traffic, air pollution, etc., are the most blatant threat to Clinton. It is doubtful that the Convention Center is the immediate precursor of a whole new wave of development on Clinton's western extreme, but speculative land assemblage has already begun to affect this area. The Clinton community must be protected both from the short-run traffic and environmental problems associated with the Convention Center and from the long-run prospect of large scale redevelopment of the adjacent areas in western Clinton.

Speculation and assemblage of land may precede actual redevelopment by as much as 20 years or more.

Even though most economists agree that market forces won't be sufficient to support any large scale redevelopment of Clinton for at least 10 years, 35% of Clinton's land area is already held in assemblages.

Both the residential and the manufacturing areas of Clinton have been bought up on a large scale by real estate speculators. In fact, the industrial land, probably because it is cheaper and available in larger tracts, has been assembled to an even greater extent than has the residential land. West of 10th Avenue, 41% of the land is assembled; east of 10th Avenue, assemblages account for 29% of the land.

Whether the property assembled is residential or commercial, the result is much the same. Since the speculator invests in land, not in buildings, maintenance and operation of the buildings is usually marginal or worse. Unlike the businessman who buys a residential building to operate it as a profit making business, the speculator would be just as happy with a vacant developable parcel. Short of demolishing unwanted buildings, speculators often hold them vacant. They recognize that an empty building is easier to sell than one filled with potentially intransigent tenants.

As a consequence of these basic marketing phenomena, Clinton is spotted with vacant lots, parking lots, empty buildings, vacant storefronts, and violation-ridden buildings. There are high correlations between properties held in assemblage and properties vacant or poorly maintained. Although assemblers own (only) 29% of the land between 8th and 10th Avenues, they own over 47% of the buildings with 20 or more building code violations, 45% of the vacant land, and 62% of the vacant storefronts on 9th Avenue.

Thus, despite the conservative economic forecasts for development in the Clinton area, assemblage and its related abuses continues unabated. Real estate transactions in Clinton in 1973 were even more frequent than in 1972 and there are no definite signs of a decrease in such activity in the near future.

Estado Actual

LA UTILIZACION DE LOS TERRENOS DE CLINTON es muy mezclada. La décima avenida prácticamente divide los sectores residenciales del vecindario. Sin embargo las dos zonas se entremezclan en muchos lugares. Además hay sectores comerciales entre la octava y la décima avenidas. La gran parte del comercio está concentrado en las avenidas siendo muy poco el comercio en las calles transversales; en estas calles ocupan los primeros pisos de las viviendas.

EL TRAFICO Y EL TRANSPORTE DE CLINTON forman parte de la circulación general del resto de la ciudad y no existen medios de transportación para viajes locales dentro del mismo vecindario. El único subterráneo que hay está en la octava avenida la que constituye uno de los límites de esta comunidad; sin embargo esto no es problema porque los buses atraviesan los sectores residenciales con mucha frecuencia. Aunque muy pocos en el vecindario son dueños de carros el problema mas grave de tránsito es debido a la gran inundación diaria de autos que vienen o van hacia el "Lincoln Tunnel" o hacia el

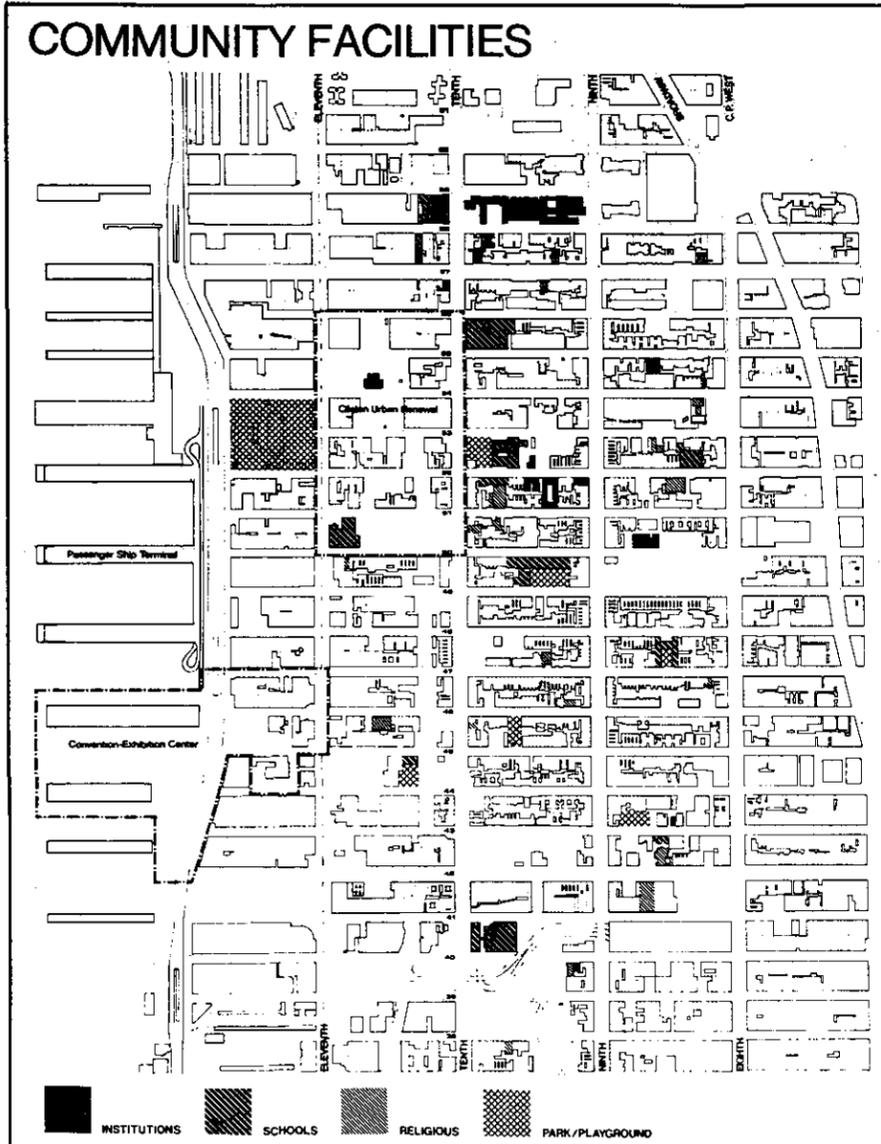
TABLE 7
Assessed Values and Number of Walkups and Elevator Apartment Structures in CSA by Census Tract

Census Tract	Number	Walk-ups		Number	Elevator Apartments	
		Assessed Value (\$000)	Average Assessed Value (\$)		Assessed Value (\$000)	Average Assessed Value (\$)
121	203	15,416	75,900	11	6,668	606,200
127	291	15,791	54,300	6	3,111	518,500
129	80	3,257	40,700	—	—	—
133	176	11,899	67,600	9	4,266	474,000
135	38	1,766	63,100	2	640	320,000
139	104	8,429	81,000	36	39,291	1,091,400
TOTAL	892	56,558	63,400	64	53,976	843,375
Excluding 139	788	48,917	62,100	28	14,685	524,500

TABLE 8
Assessed Value Per Housing Unit Average Annual Contract Rent and Real Property Taxes Per Housing Unit in CSA by Census Tract, 1970-72

Census Tract	Assessed Value Per Housing Unit*	Average Annual Contract Rent	Real Property Taxes Per Unit	Contract Rent as % of Assessed Value**	Real Property Taxes as a % of contract Rent
121	\$6,170	\$1,182	\$364	19	31
127	4,470	1,032	264	23	26
129	2,246	744	133	33	17
133	5,995	984	354	16	36
135	3,820	792	225	21	28
139	7,787	1,824	459	23	25
TOTAL	5,904	1,236	348	21	28
Excluding 139	4,992	1,025	295	21	29

* Computed by dividing total assessed values for residential properties by number of year-round housing units.
** Estimated on basis of tax rate per \$100 of 5.9 percent.
Sources: Assessed value data from RPAD, City of New York; all other data from U.S. Census of Housing, 1970.



"Port Authority," o al "West Side Highway." Esta situación empeorará si el centro de exhibición y conferencias no es planeado en otra forma. El número de estacionamientos necesarios para acomodar tanto tráfico crea un peligro que amenaza destruir varios sectores.

LA ECONOMIA LOCAL DE CLINTON es muy diversa y existen en proporciones iguales al resto de la ciudad. Las facilidades, el comercio y la manufactura proveen la mayor cantidad de empleos; los trabajos han cambiado del sector industrial al sector de servicios. Entretanto el sector comercial ha permanecido relativamente estable. Posiblemente un 40% de los trabajadores en Clinton viven y trabajan allí mismo.

LA POBLACION DE CLINTON es de 35.000 habitantes; esta figura posiblemente termine con un decline que comenzó en 1950 cuando muchos residentes se vieron forzados a mudarse al ser demolidas sus casas. Durante todo este tiempo la composición del barrio ha permanecido estable; el aumento en el porcentaje de la población negra y el de ancianos no ha cambiado el carácter de la comunidad. que incluye irlandeses, italianos, hispanos y griegos.

LAS VIVIENDAS EN CLINTON son el problema mas obvio del vecindario e infortunadamente, también el mas difícil de resolver. Cerca de un 75% de los residentes viven en edificios construidos antes de 1901: edificios de la vieja ley. El resto vive en edificios mas nuevos y algunos modernos. El hecho de que muchas de estas viviendas necesitan ser renovadas es complicado, más por la incapacidad de los habitantes en pagar los nuevos alquileres que serían forzosos debido al costo que implicaría la renovación de estos edificios. Además, la tendencia de hacer apartamentos pequeños unido a la destrucción de muchos de los edificios viejos, ha hecho difícil encontrar los apartamentos grandes que en una época fueron típicos de esta comunidad.

LOS HABERES DE LA COMUNIDAD y en particular las clínicas locales son una de las cosas mas positivas de Clinton. Sin embargo hay una tendencia de tener demasiados servicios municipales como Clínicas, Escuelas de estudios vocacionales y técnicos y además centros de rehabilitación, mientras continúa una escasez grande de servicios locales tales como jardines infantiles, parques y "Daycare Centers."

EL DESARROLLO DE BIENES INMUEBLES en



The existing zoning in Clinton allows high rise construction on the side streets, destroying the low scale character of the residential area. Below: Many parcels of land assembled for development are used as parking lots until building appears profitable



el vecindario de Clinton ha llegado a un punto grave. Cerca del 35% del terreno en Clinton ha sido usado de esta forma. Los efectos de este abuso (que se hacen mas fuertes cada día), pueden ser vistos en la cantidad de lotes, edificios y negocios desocupados, en el valor tan alto de ciertos sitios y en el sub-desarrollo de esas facilidades que constituyen un vecindario residencial

Conclusion & Goals

Unlike the other so-called "preservation neighborhoods" in New York City, Clinton is not a formerly white, middle class neighborhood whose stability is threatened by racial, social and economic forces of change which are dragging it down. Clinton is not a once "good neighborhood" going downhill as its residents flee to the suburbs. Clinton has not been written off by banks and investors; to the contrary, Clinton's property continues to increase in value.

In fact, Clinton's symptoms are in many ways antithetical to the common syndrome of older neighborhoods in New York City. It is a community that has, from its very beginnings, been a poor, working class neighborhood, and so it remains today. It has experienced no major shifts in its racial balance, nor is any expected. Its residents do not flee to the suburbs; they cling tenaciously to their turf, many growing old with their homes. Banks and investors in real estate continue to be highly committed to the future of Clinton, although a different future than the residents project.

For Clinton is not threatened by abandonment and abuse so typical of the older areas of the City. Rather, Clinton is threatened by redevelopment on a scale that

would effectively destroy it as a cohesive neighborhood.

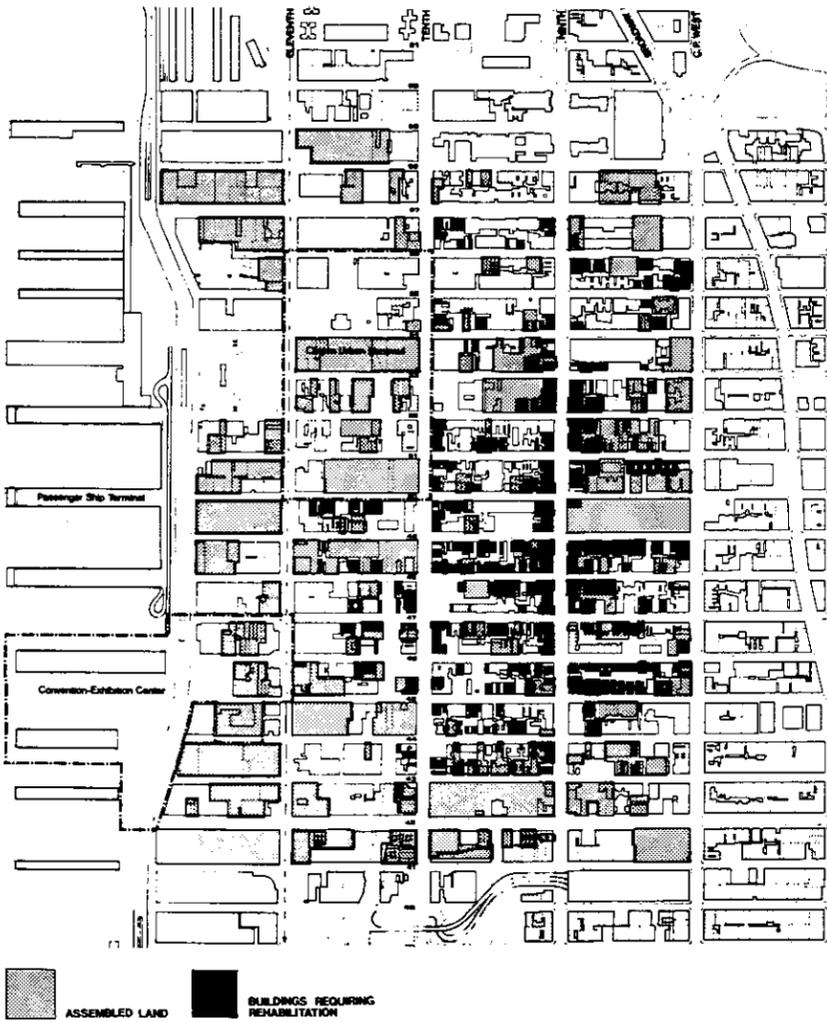
Clinton's basic problem is not its housing, which is old, nor its population, which is declining, nor its average income, which is low. The essential problem is its location. Were it located almost anywhere else in the City, it would be a model for low income communities. As it happens, Clinton is sitting on what may become, in the relatively new future, some of the most valuable land in New York City.

It should not be surprising then, that there are those, particularly those with development interests, who have proposed alternate uses for this land. The City, however, has rejected this idea as a matter of policy. The purpose of this report is to outline a plan which will give that policy shape and direction, a plan which will safeguard Clinton and at the same time respect the economic potential vital to the entire City.

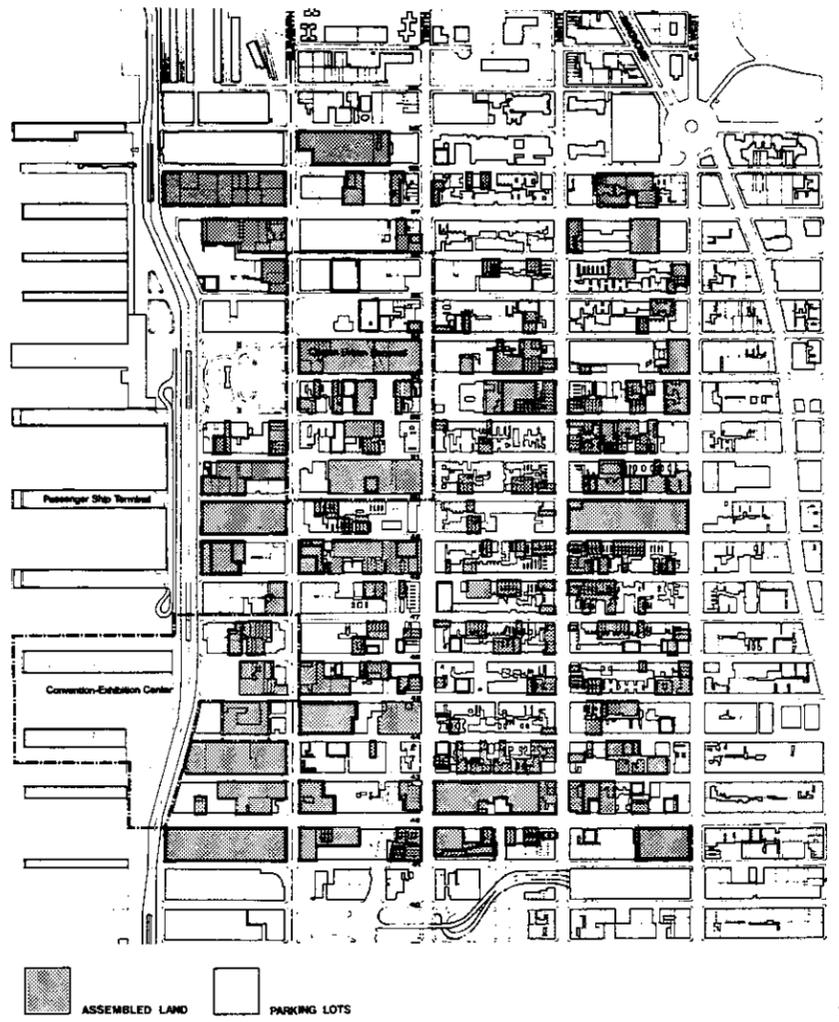
Based on this analysis of the Clinton community as it now exists and in concert with representatives of the Clinton community, the following goals for the future of the area have been developed.

1. Protect and strengthen the residential character of the Clinton community—low scale, low rent and for a variety of life styles.
2. Upgrade the local infrastructure and environment both in and out of doors.
3. Provide direction for future development in and around Clinton.
4. Encourage the retention and expansion of local industries and wholesale/retail enterprises.
5. Reinforce present scale and character of Clinton integrate new development with existing development.
6. Protect and promote mixed use areas in Clinton in an orderly way.
7. Buffer the existing residential areas in Clinton from the impact of new development, including congestion, pollution and traffic.
8. Insure a high level of decentralized City services in keeping with local needs.

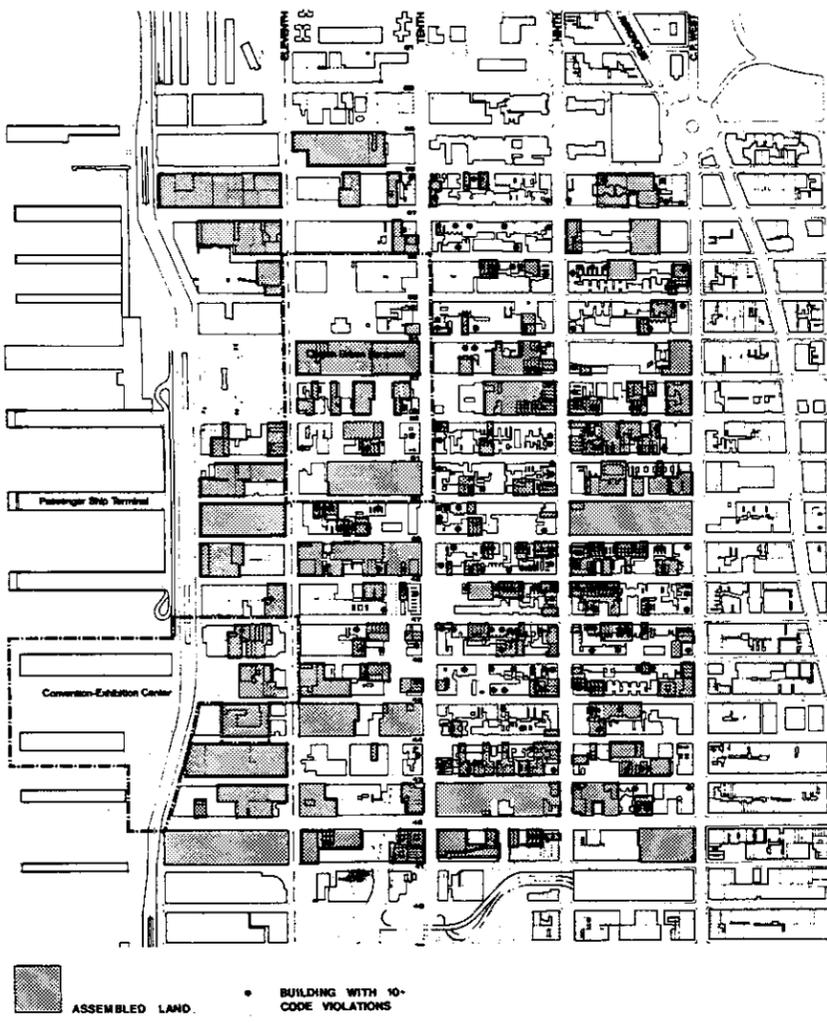
RELATIONSHIP OF BUILDING CONDITIONS TO ASSEMBLAGE (10 OR MORE)



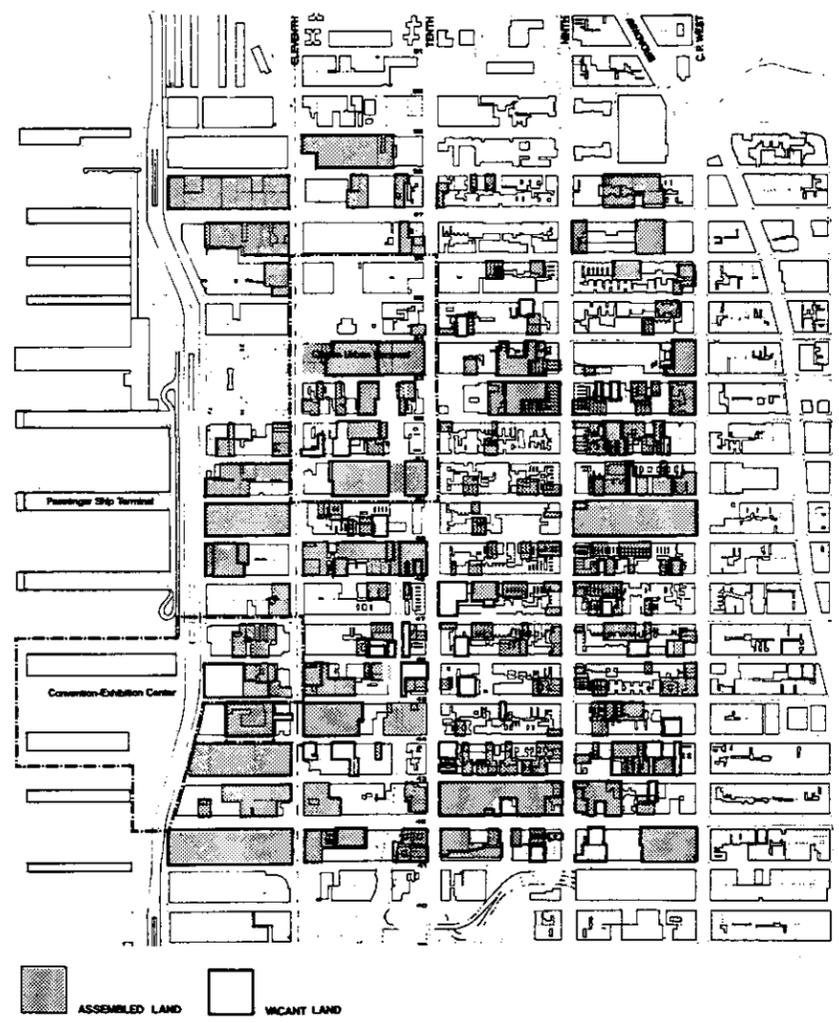
RELATIONSHIP OF PARKING LOTS TO ASSEMBLAGE



RELATIONSHIP OF BUILDING CODE VIOLATIONS TO ASSEMBLAGE (10 OR MORE)



RELATIONSHIP OF VACANT LAND TO ASSEMBLAGE



Proposals

Two types of responses

Throughout the following sections of this report, the general categories reviewed under **Clinton Today** will be treated as more or less independent substantive areas; e.g., Housing, Local Economy, etc. The key problems in each of these areas will be outlined and our proposals and projections for their solution will follow. In general, each proposal will have two components: (1) a program or plan, and (2) a design response within that program or plan.

Planning

The planning component is based on a review of

available existing data on any particular problem. It is an attempt to confront those elements of the local environment that are perceived as incongruous or, in fact, detrimental to the smooth functioning of the whole. The planning recommendations usually take form from the goals of the study. The gaps that exist between what Clinton is now and what Clinton should be, determine the direction and scope of the recommendations. The realities of bureaucracy, economics, and time determine their limitations.

Since the recommendations are keyed to specific problems in particular functional areas, they are to a great extent distinct. In some cases, though, a

problem so pervades the community that one recommendation may affect several different areas. However, none of the recommendations are interchangeable. They may be complementary, but they are never mutually exclusive.

Design

The design proposals respond to urban design issues. These issues are generated by the objectives articulated during the study. The design solutions to issues of housing, open space, traffic and transportation, and mixed-use development are meant to be illustrative, yet specific in that they offer physical

responses to the social, economic, and technical forces operating within the context of each issue. All of the issues are related and theoretically any new development would be responsive to all. A new housing project, for example, must include considerations of traffic and open space in relation to community goals. However, the distance between planning and development is presently such that control of only certain aspects of the problem are possible in any given situation. Our solutions, therefore, are able to function both as integrated proposals or independently. The actions of any one agency or department in the City are not necessarily responsive to the proposals of another. Planning and design must include a comprehensive approach which recognizes "implementation" will all of its pitfalls as the determinant of the solutions offered. Any single proposal should be advanced with a capability of integration into the entire fabric of a plan which eventually may produce the comprehensive solution.

Land Use and Zoning

Zoning for preservation

Major municipal capital investment in West Midtown began with the acquisition of land for the New York Coliseum in 1951 and will culminate in the construction of the proposed Convention Center. It has created economic pressures which have dispersed other residential communities and which now threaten to destroy Clinton as a source of low and middle income housing in Manhattan. In the aggregate, the Coliseum, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, the Port Authority, the Superliner Terminal and the Convention Center represent an investment of public capital totalling more than one-half billion dollars. Land values have risen accordingly. An 8400 square foot parcel on West 56th Street whose assessed valuation in 1963 was \$110,000 was assessed at \$235,000 in 1972.

Clinton is especially vulnerable to the economic pressure generated by this public activity because most of the residential buildings are rent controlled old and new law tenements in need of varying degrees of rehabilitation. The buildings can produce a reasonable return on capital investment but not a profit comparable to what can be earned in other parts of the city.

Because of a shortage of low and middle income housing generally and because of the City's extensive involvement and direct impact in Clinton particularly, the City has determined to protect and stabilize Clinton as a residential area and to direct development pressure to other more appropriate Midtown areas, without increasing overall density in this part of the City. The major tool for implementing this policy is zoning, although other tools—Municipal Loan, Urban Renewal, and Neighborhood Preservation,—are being used as well.

A balance in zoning

The competing forces of industrial and residential uses have each usurped territory beyond their nominal dividing line at 10th Avenue. Establishing footholds wherever space and opportunity have existed, these traditionally incompatible uses have become, in some instance, inextricably involved with each other. In other areas, commercial uses have clearly become the dominant use. The specific areas of Clinton and their present uses are discussed in the description of existing conditions. However, it should be kept in mind that zoning is not simply to be adapted to land use. In fact, the reverse is true to a very great extent. While zoning should not ignore the reality of previous development, it is essential that it follow a rational plan for future development.

With this ground rule in mind, the following observations and proposals are offered for the future zoning of Clinton.

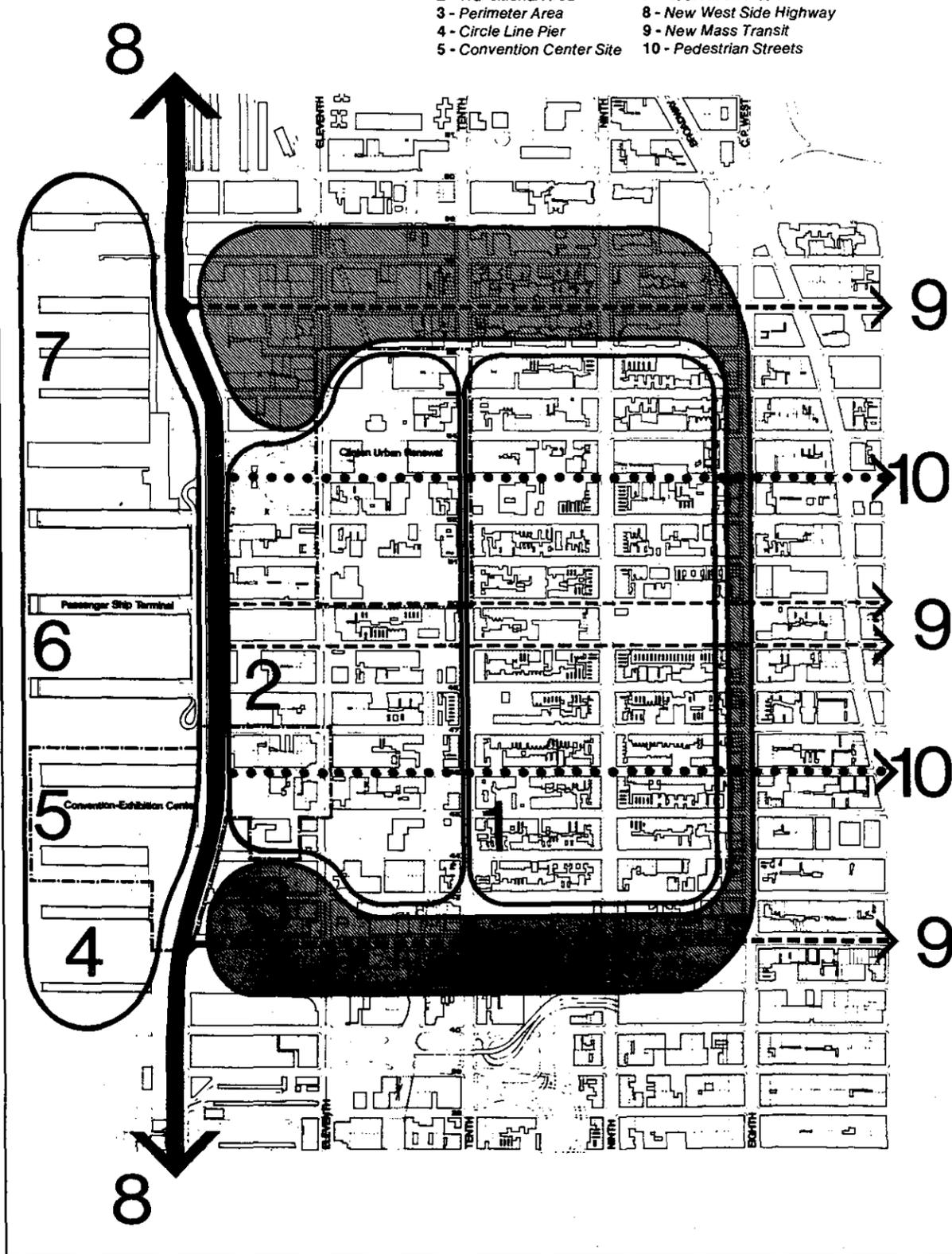
A SPECIAL PRESERVATION DISTRICT

General Purposes

1. To preserve and protect the existing residential use scale and density.
2. To preserve, protect and promote wholesale, retail, and manufacturing establishments.
3. To rationalize vehicular movement and improve transportation.
4. To maximize the area's potential by guiding future development in a manner which is sympathetic to existing uses and population.
5. To provide amenities related to the existing use, character, and location of the area including open space and street improvements.

The overall effect of this zoning then, is to encourage the retention of Clinton's low scale residential areas at currently developed densities by designating in definite terms the appropriate areas for preservation. This will somewhat deny the possibilities for new development in these areas. Therefore, there

LAND USE CONCEPT



should be increased potential for development in corridors which, because of their street dimensions, their transportation, their previous development and their relationship to the rest of midtown, are more appropriate for high density development. Furthermore, the FAR bonuses available to the high density developers will provide an incentive for preserving the residential area of Clinton. The downzoning of this residential area, in turn provides the counter-balance for the high density perimeter.

Between 10th and 11th Avenues we have attempted to ease the conflict between residential and manufacturing uses by the designation of transitional mixed use area where both uses may exist without threatening to absorb or displace the other. This designation (respecting whichever is presently the dominant use) will afford the flexibility in zoning needed to deal with this transitional zone. Provision is made for the future possibility of combined development by special permit. West of 11th Avenue, we have proposed zoning changes only where there seemed to be incongruities in the present zoning.

The overall development potential as far as the City is concerned is not impeded, but it has been redirected. Under the zoning in effect prior to the interim district, the developable floor area of this part of midtown was approximately 54 million square feet. This potential has been redistributed more rationally under the proposed zoning with an eye toward preserving the Clinton community and yet the developable floor area is still in the neighborhood of 55 million square feet.

Legal issues

Zoning regulations are enacted under the police power of the state and are subject to a standard of "reasonableness" which means (i) there must be a relationship between the regulation and the legitimate objective it is intended to accomplish; (ii) the value of the regulated property cannot be diminished to the point of prohibiting a reasonable return or precluding

the property from any use to which it is reasonably adapted; (iii) the regulation cannot impose on a property owner a general social cost not of his making. In addition, if similarly situated properties are treated differently, the equal protection clause requires that there be a reasonable basis for discriminatory treatment.

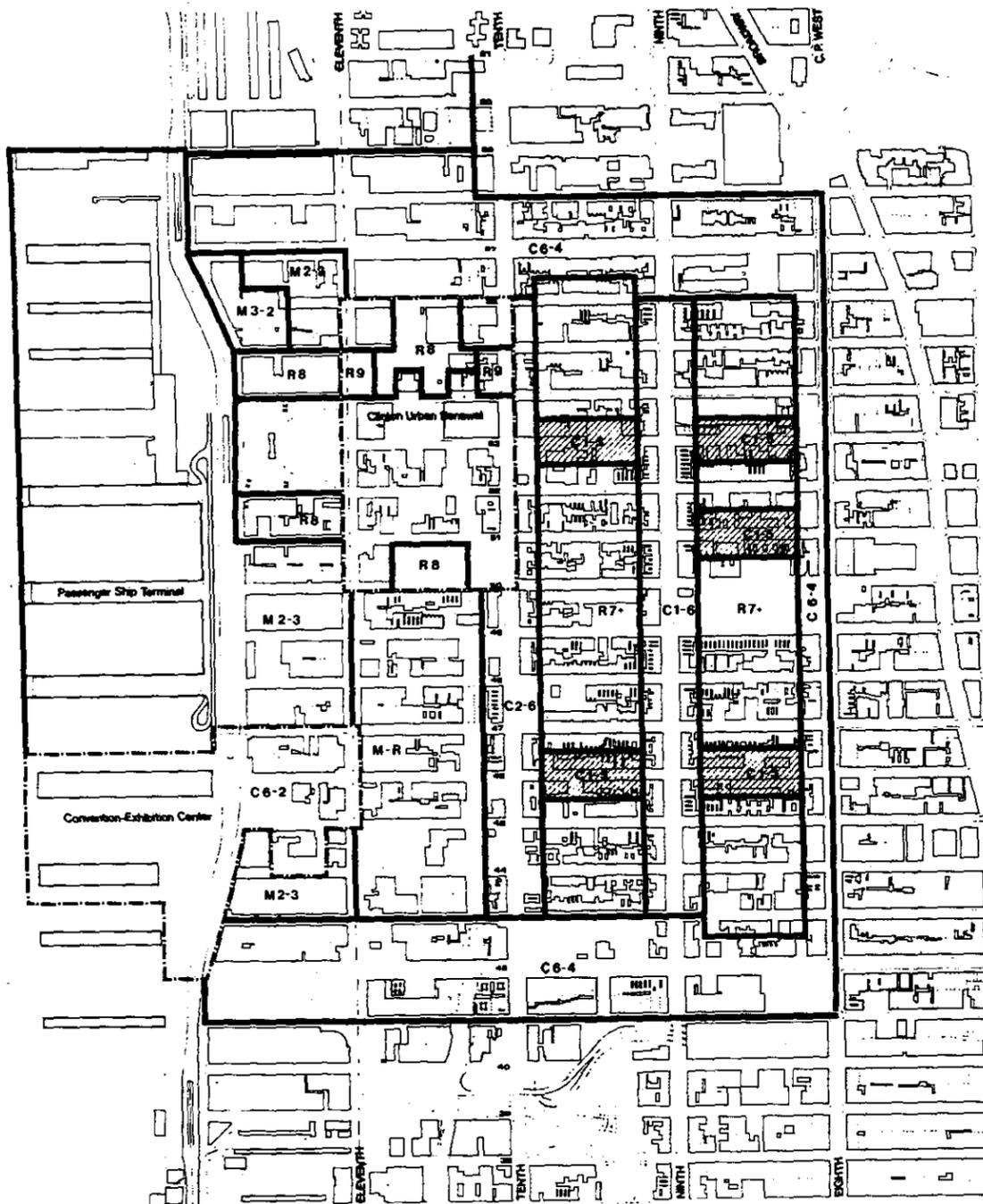
Objective of the new zoning

(i) The objective of the new zoning regulations is to stabilize a residential community, retain and improve the community's housing stock and deflect development to an adjacent area in which it is desirable.

The regulation achieves the objective in three steps: (1) the economic incentive to redevelop in the residential area is removed because new residential buildings can be no larger than the buildings they replace; (2) development is encouraged in the Perimeter because the new zoning envelope for each parcel in that area permits a larger building and therefore a more profitable use of the land; and (3) the residential community is stabilized because some portion of the profitability added to the Perimeter is required to be returned to the residential area for purposes of housing improvement and construction. The issue is whether, as a matter of fact, the technique will achieve the stated objectives.

There are some 6 million square feet of reassignable development rights above residential properties in the Preservation Area with a current market value in the Perimeter of approaching 50 million dollars. Economic data indicate that new construction in the Perimeter will gradually absorb the additional bulk over the next 15 years. Since a substantial portion of that value will be returned in the form of improvements to the Preservation Area as new development occurs in the Perimeter, the regulation serves the stated planning objective. The objective itself—preserving and adding to the supply of low and middle income housing and controlling the location of new development—is well documented.

PROPOSED ZONING



New zoning not confiscatory

(ii) A zoning regulation which is valid in terms of its objective may be invalid for other reasons. It may, for example, bear too heavily on the use or value of a property and therefore be confiscatory.

A recent decision of the Court of Appeals in *Salamar Builders Corp. v. Tuttle* drew together several landmark cases and reaffirmed a long-standing rule in cases alleging confiscation:

[T]his court [has] adopted the rule that 'where the property owner will suffer significant economic injury by the application of an area standard ordinance, that standard can be justified only by [an affirmative] showing [on the part of the municipality] that the public health, safety and welfare will be served by upholding the application of the standard.'

Plaintiff's 70-acre development parcel was rezoned from one-acre to one and one-half acre minimum lot size, diminishing the number of lots from 44 to 31. The Court was not persuaded that the loss was "confiscatory" or even real and held that "the extent of the loss (some \$3650 [per lot] under the increased requirements) related more to plaintiff's qualifications as an entrepreneur than the question of confiscation. Even were it to be believed, while it demonstrated some financial loss, it falls far short of the hardship which deprives it 'of any use of the property to which it is reasonably adapted [citations omitted]'. The Court also recited the fact that the rezoning was initiated as part of a "well co-ordinated [sic] and comprehensive land use scheme for the Town of Southeast generally," and sustained as valid the objective of larger-lot zoning to limit the number of septic tanks in a watershed area.

Like the *Salamar* case very few cases present clearcut situations of total economic confiscation. Robert M. Anderson, Professor of Law at Syracuse University and author of *The American Law of Zoning* (1968) and *Zoning Law and Practice in New York State* (1963) examined 50 cases in which confiscation was alleged and the amount of loss was disclosed in the courts' opinions. "The loss of value in the cases in which the ordinance was upheld was about the same as the loss proved in the cases that

reached an opposite result." In these cases, in which the value of land is reduced but the owner is left with some viable economic use of the land, Anderson says, "[the courts] make an earnest attempt to balance the public benefit, which the regulation is intended to confer, against the economic impact of the regulation upon the complaining litigant. They turn to the objective of the ordinance. If this be beyond the reach of the police power, the ordinance is unconstitutional even though the injury to the subject property is slight. If the objective is within the police power, but the tendency of the regulation to serve it is marginal, the court may disapprove although the impact upon the land of the plaintiff is not great. But an ordinance which imposes severe loss on a landowner may be upheld if it is found substantially to advance a public interest that is comfortably within the reach of the police power."

These are the policy considerations that apply to downzoning the residential area of Clinton. It is important to bear in mind that neither a reduction in value nor a denial of the highest and best use of the land is sufficient, without more, to invalidate a zoning regulation. An owner of property in the Preservation Area may well have purchased with the expectation—and at a commensurate price—of rezoning to R10 density or to a higher commercial bulk. There are two ways—excluding resale to a similarly optimistic second buyer—that the owner may realize his expectation value: (1) he may prove as a matter of law that the present zoning for his property is unconstitutional; or (2) he may persuade the City's legislative body that, although the present zoning is not unconstitutional, sound planning dictates that the legislature use its discretion to rezone his property to R10. If the legislative body instead determines to rezone the property to a lower bulk and density—and can establish the public purpose for doing so—the Court will weigh the public benefit of the lower zoning against the economic impact on the owner. The loss of speculative value in this situation, as in *Salamar*, should relate more to the owners' "qualifications as an entrepreneur than the question of confiscation."

New zoning does not discriminate unfairly

(iii) Even though a zoning regulation is not confiscatory it may be invalid if it imposes on a single landowner the cost of a general social need not of his making. The leading case in this area is *Vernon Park Realty v. City of Mount Vernon*, in which the Court of Appeals invalidated a regulation which effectively limited a parcel of property in the center of a business district to use as a public parking lot. The parcel was adjacent to a train depot and had been used by a railroad as a parking lot until its proposed sale to a developer who wished to build a shopping center.

However compelling and acute the community traffic problem may be, its solution does not lie in placing an undue and uncompensated burden on the individual owner of a single parcel of land in the guise of regulation, even for a public purpose.

The Court of Appeals relied on a United States Supreme Court grade separation case for its policy. "[W]hen particular individuals are singled out to bear the cost of advancing the public convenience, that imposition must bear some reasonable relation to the evils to be eradicated or the advantages to be secured." In other words, there must be a causal basis for using the police power—whether in the context of railroad grade crossings or land use controls—to impose a general social cost on select individuals.

In its most obvious application this policy precludes zoning privately owned property for use as a public park, for construction of public housing, or for use only as a fire house or police station or public school or any other use or activity in which only the government may engage. However, it does not per se preclude other exclusive use zoning classifications such as the C7 waterfront amusement use districts in New York and exclusive industrial use zones in other cities.

Even though developers in the Perimeter are required to meet some of the City's housing needs—a general social cost—as a condition to building at a higher bulk and density, the situation is distinguishable from *Vernon Park*. Here developers are benefitted by the Preservation Area downzoning because it is the downzoning which makes it possible to upzone the Perimeter. Upzoning obviously has a positive affect on land values, assigning added value which will be realized as parcels are redeveloped with higher bulk and density. At the time of redevelopment, the new zoning regulations make it possible for the City to capture—or withhold—some of the value it created and to reassign it to achieve a companion planning objective.

In place of a windfall for select landowners, this system provides for equitable sharing throughout the area of value created by public action.

Within this context it is appropriate to discuss the question of Equal Protection. Earlier, reference was made to *Udell v. Hass* wherein the lack of legitimate comprehensive planning process contributed to the invalidation of a locally enacted zoning ordinance. The second ground for holding the ordinance invalid was that it treated one parcel differently from similarly situated properties for no defensible reason.

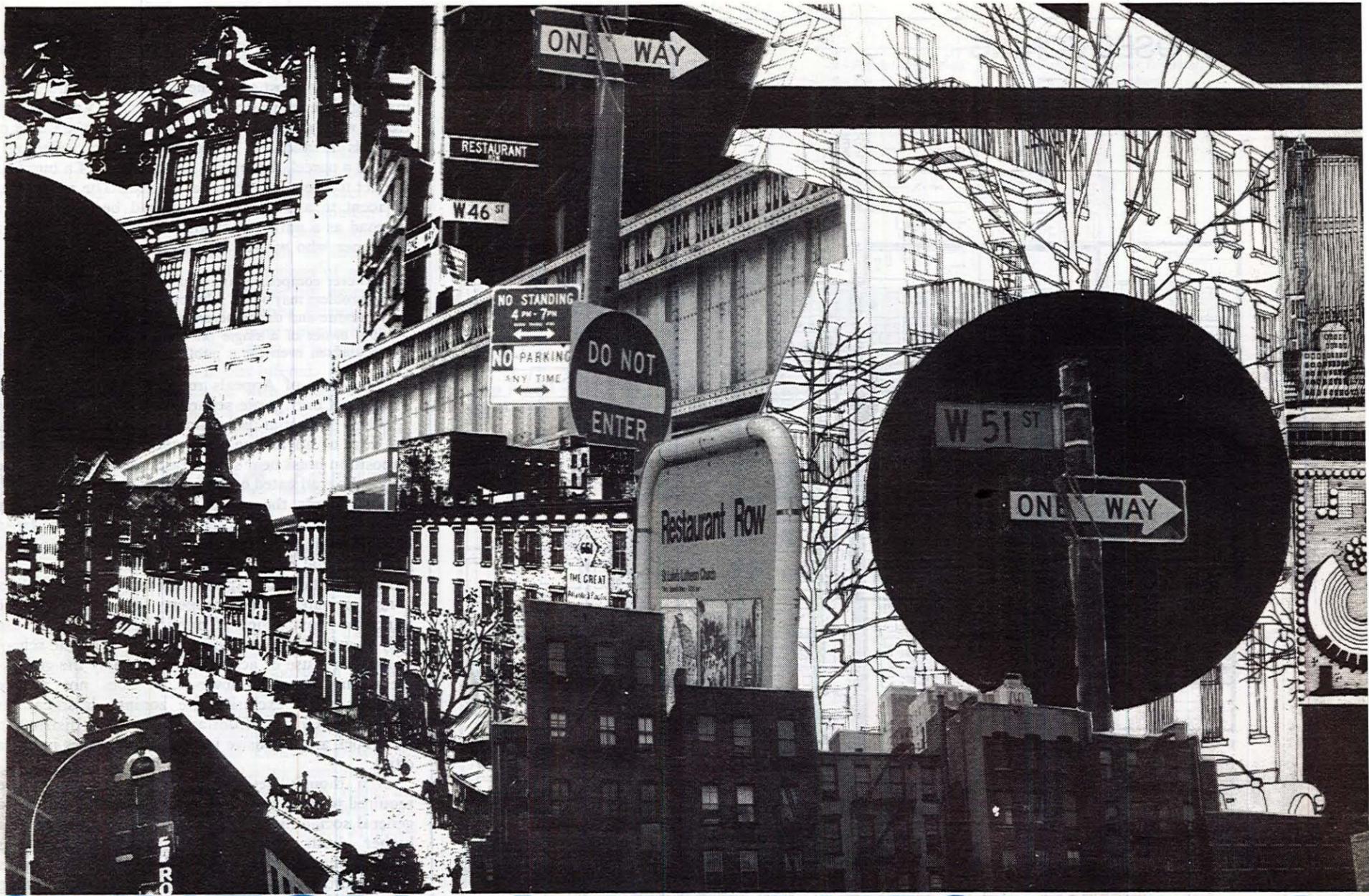
[A] claim of discrimination is not just another way of saying that the change [in zoning] does not accord with the comprehensive plan. When the claim is one of discrimination, the focus of inquiry is narrower. The issue is the propriety of the treatment of the subject parcel as compared to neighboring properties.

The burden of the requirement is that all boundary lines for the Preservation Area and the Perimeter Area etc. be rationally drawn. Each differently zoned area within the Clinton Special District should be distinguishable on defensible grounds. The Preservation Area is mainly constituted of residential properties, endangered by redevelopment pressures. The Perimeter is that area which is best suited for high density development because of its access to transportation, its relation to the C.B.D., the dimensions of its thoroughfares, etc. The exact designation of these areas may seem a minor detail but it could easily undermine the credibility of the district if it is done without proper consideration of the relevant planning criteria.

Enabling Legislation

The City has no inherent power to zone. It has only the zoning authority conferred on it by the State. There is unfortunately no clear answer to the question of whether courts will conclude that the distribution system analyzed above is contemplated by the State's enabling legislation. It is clear, however, that the technique is not per se barred by the General City Law, counterparts of which have permitted novel techniques such as the floating zone, phased growth zoning, and land-or-money "in lieu" regulations.

Under the circumstances, every effort should be made to demonstrate to the courts that the plan and planning process have followed the parameters set



CLINTON - A PLAN FOR PRESE

Existing Conditions

Clinton is a neighborhood of mixed uses. Residential development dominates the area, although west of 10th Avenue there is a considerable industrial belt. Aside from bus lines on avenues and major crosstown streets, there is no mass transit link closer than the subway at 8th Avenue, the community's eastern edge. Although Clinton's automobile ownership is low, vehicular traffic and parking associated with adjacent public facilities is a major problem. Local manufacturing employment has shared in City-wide declines of recent years. Proximity to midtown has anchored some firms in Clinton, but economic, operating, and facility limitations make it difficult to attract new industries. Local wholesale and retail firms have established a wide clientele, but are tied to the fate of the low rent neighborhood. Clinton's population, though declining, has remained mixed but stable and has probably stopped falling. The area is still a popular working class neighborhood. Consequently, most of Clinton's housing is appropriate for low to moderate income residents with many old, but sound structures, very low rents, and family sized apartments. The general condition of Clinton's housing is fairly good compared to areas of equal age; moderate rehabilitation is needed in many cases. Clinton's community facilities are generally adequate, but imbalances exist in some areas: an overabundance of hospital beds and drug treatment facilities, a shortage of outpatient clinics, school seats, and open space. Though by no means its only problem, Clinton's major problem is speculative real estate assemblage and its related abuses. Over the past 20 years speculation based upon unrealistic expectations of imminent redevelopment have undermined the community's ability to plan for the future. This condition was aggravated by the proposed Convention and Exhibition Center on the Hudson River. However, the City has committed itself to the preservation of Clinton as a working class neighborhood, by designating the area one of five Neighborhood Preservation Areas.

Proposals

The following proposals were developed in response to the existing conditions outlined above. They are summarized in two sections. The recommendations under "Zoning" refer to the Special Purpose Preservation District which we propose for Clinton. They are organized according to the geographic area of Clinton to which they apply. The second set of proposals under "Programs" refer to specific actions to be taken to preserve Clinton. They are organized according to standard functional areas since they overlap zoning

districts and other jurisdictional boundaries. Both sets of proposals are described in detail within the text of the report.

Zoning

Preservation Area

100' west of 8th Avenue to 10th Avenue, 43rd to 56th Streets (See map - Area 1.)

- All rezoned to modified R-7 density
- 6-story height on side streets
- Ground floor commercial overlay on 46th and 53rd Streets and 51st Street between 8th and 9th Avenues
- Retention of all manufacturing and commercial developments as legal non-conforming uses
- Average apartment size to be 2 bedrooms

Transitional Area

100' west of 10th Avenue to 11th Avenue, 43rd to 50th Streets (see map - Area 2.)

- Mixed uses to remain as conforming (M-R zoning)
- R-8 density based on entire block, built on western 700' in conjunction with vertical mixed use development by Special Permit only
- Eastern end (100') of blocks subject to R-7 density but commercially zoned

Manufacturing Area

11th to 12th Avenues, 43rd to 56th Streets; Excluding CEC site and Clinton Park (see map - Area 3.)

- Existing manufacturing zoning and uses to remain
- Blocks adjacent to Clinton Park to be rezoned for medium density (R-8) residential use
- New West Side Highway may require re-examination of this area

Perimeter Area

Westerly 100' of 8th Avenue, 41st to 57th Streets
41st to 43rd Streets, 8th Avenue to River
57th to 59th Streets, 8th Avenue to River (see map - Area 4.)

- Commercial and Residential mixed use
- FAR 10 - revoke plaza bonus
- Bonus of 2 FAR for community improvements; housing rehabilitation, parks, street furniture, etc.

Waterfront

West of 12th Avenue
41st Street to 59th Street (see map - Area 5.)

- Existing manufacturing zoning and uses to remain
- Recreation uses encouraged where they won't interfere with shipping activity

Administration

- No demolition of sound housing except by Special Permit
- Relocation of low income tenants (displaced by new development) within Clinton in comparable apartments at comparable rents
- All rehabilitation plans to be reviewed for possible use of appropriate subsidy programs
- A Clinton Development Fund or similarly empowered body to oversee FAR bonuses and commensurate performance of community improvements
- Special Permits required for bonuses and other incentives beyond those authorized within the Spec

Programs

Housing

- Federal (Section 23) housing subsidies to enable low-income Clinton residents to live in rehabilitated apartments at rentals no higher than 25% of their income
- Fifteen million dollars in Municipal Loan Funds in conjunction with land write-down to rehabilitate apartments at rents most Clintonites can afford
- New development in the Preservation Area to take the form of a low rise medium density prototype
- Code enforcement, municipal tax exemption for low income rehabilitation and low income cooperative programs under Clinton's Neighborhood Preservation Program

Local Economy

- A Clinton Development Corporation to sponsor projects under the New York State Job Development Authority and Job Incentive Program
- City Council action to make tax abatements available to local industries under the State Job Incentive Program
- Short term customer parking for wholesale-retail strips on 9th and 10th Avenues

Traffic

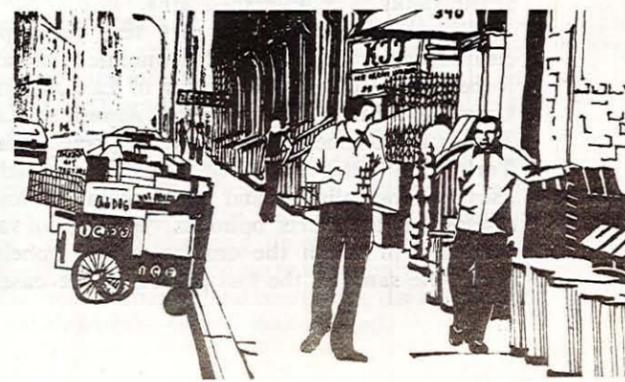
- Retention of interim restrictions on parking lots on permanent basis
- Bus and through crosstown traffic on 42nd, 57th, 49th and 50th Streets
- 11th and 12th Avenues for through trucking rather than 9th and 10th
- 46th and 53rd Streets developed as pedestrian ways

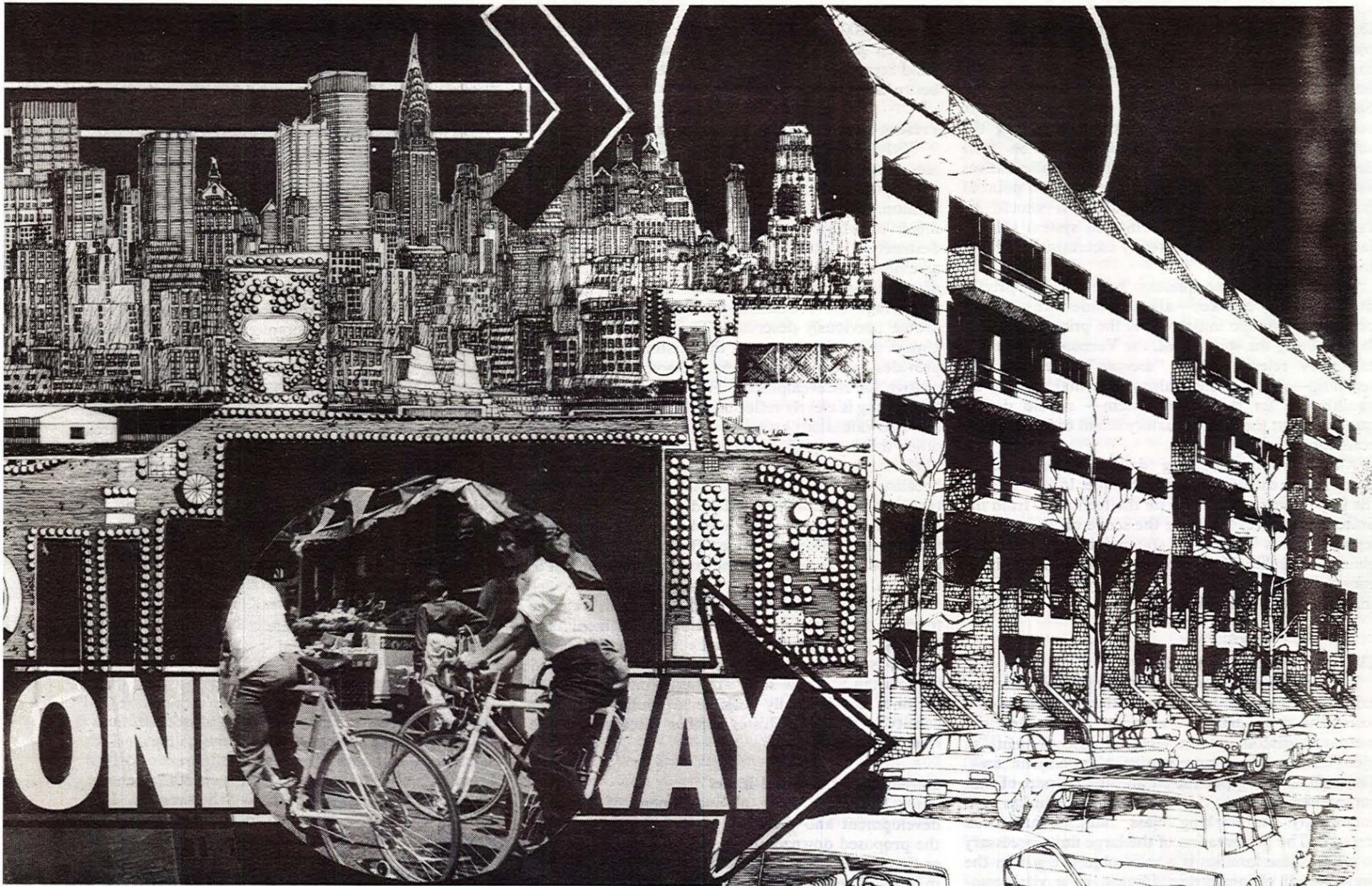
Open Space

- Differentiated open space provided within new developments
- Pedestrian connection of Clinton Park to waterfront
- Acquisition of new open space to double present 11 acres
- Use of CEC site and landscaping as community open space resource

Decentralization

- The formation of a separate Clinton District Service Cabinet to serve the designated Neighborhood Preservation Area
- The provision of health and social service facilities according to strictly local need
- Community Planning Board review of all items prior to submission to Planning Commission





RENOVATION CONDUCTED BY WEINER/GRAN ASSOCIATES FOR THE CLINTON STEERING COMMITTEE

En esta página se pueden ver a través de fotografías, planos, mapas y dibujos el estado actual de Clinton y como cambiaría con las propuestas hechas en estas investigaciones.

Estado Actual

Clinton es un barrio de diversos usos y aun teniendo una zona industrial al oeste de la Avenida 10, el carácter residencial del sitio predomina. Exceptuando los buses en las avenidas y ciertas calles transversales no existe otra forma de transportación mas cercana que el subterráneo de la Avenida 8. Esta avenida representa los límites de la comunidad hacia el este.

Considerando que hay muy pocos dueños de carros en Clinton, el vecindario tiene un problema grave debido a la aglomeración del tráfico y al estacionamiento a los lados de varias utilidades públicas.

El número de empleos disponibles fue reducido debido al desempleo general de toda la ciudad de Nueva York.

La proximidad al centro comercial de Manhattan ha mantenido varios negocios en el área, pero es difícil atraer nuevas industrias por la estrechez económica y la escasez de facilidades. El comercio local ha establecido una clientela bastante extendida pero están atados al destino del vecindario.

Aunque la población continúa mezclada parece que ha llegado a un número bastante estable y no ha seguido reduciéndose. Todavía es un vecindario de obreros y por consiguiente la mayoría de las viviendas son precisas para residentes de poco sueldo o de sueldo medio. Clinton está en buenas condiciones cuando se compara con otros vecindarios de la misma época. Solo un poco de renovación será necesario en muchos casos para ver mejoras.

Los servicios en esta comunidad son adecuados pero existe un desequilibrio en varias áreas. Por ejemplo: hay sobreabundancia de camas en los hospitales y demasiados centros para el tratamiento de drogadictos, pero hay escasez de parques, clínicas y falta de espacio en las escuelas.

Aunque no es su único problema Clinton tiene un problema mayor que ha sido el desarrollo y abuso, por los financieros, de todo terreno disponible. En los últimos 20 años se ha visto un desarrollo basado sobre especulaciones falsas e irracionales; estas cosas no han permitido que la comunidad logre una acción efectiva en el planeamiento de su futuro. Esta situación fué empeorada con la propuesta de un nuevo Centro de Exhibición y Conferencias sobre el río Hudson. Sin embargo el municipio se ha encargado de conservar a Clinton como un vecindario para la clase trabajadora y declaró el mismo una área de preservación.

Propuestas

Lo siguiente fue desarrollado como una respuesta a los problemas mencionados al principio. Las conclusiones están divididas en dos categorías. Las recomendaciones bajo el título **Sectores** se refieren al distrito especial de preservación que proponemos para Clinton. Estas son organizadas de acuerdo con las divisiones geográficas de Clinton. El segundo grupo bajo el título de **Programas** se refiere a acciones específicas para preservar el vecindario. Los dos grupos de propuestas están descritos mas detalladamente en el reporte.

Sectores

Area de Preservacion
100' al oeste de la Avenida 8 hasta la avenida 10, entre las calles 43 y 56 (Vea mapa - Área 1).

Todo reclasificado zona R-7 (densidad media)
6 pisos de altura en las calles.
Comercio en el primer piso de las calles 46, 53 y 51. entre las avenidas 8 y 9.

El mantenimiento de la industria y centros comerciales existentes aunque no de acuerdo con la clasificación R-7.

Area de Transición
100' al oeste de la avenida 10 hasta la avenida 11, entre las calles 43 y 50 (Vea mapa - Área 2).

La diversidad de usos permanecerán de acuerdo con la clasificación "mezclado-residencial".
R-8 (densidad media-alta) junto con la construcción vertical mezclada; solo con permiso especial.
El final hacia el este será de cuadras con densidad media pero clasificadas como zonas comerciales.

Area de Fabricacion
Avenidas 11 y 12, entre la 43 y la 56, excluyendo Clinton Park y el área del C.E.C. (Vea mapa-Área 3).

Continuarlo como zona industrial.
Reclasificar las cuadras al lado del parque como zonas residenciales R-8. (Densidad media-alta).
La nueva "West-Side Highway" posiblemente exija una re-examinación de este sector.

El Perimetro
El área 100' de la avenida 8, entre las calles 41 y 57.
Las calles 41 hasta la 43, desde la avenida 8 hasta el río.
Las calles 57 hasta la 59, desde la avenida 8 hasta el río. (Vea mapa - Area 4).

Zona de comercio y residencia.
F.A.R. 10 (densidad alta), anular el bono por la construcción de plazas.
Premiar 2 F.A.R. por mejoramientos; renovaciones de viviendas, parques, el ambiente de las calles, etc.

El Muelle
Al oeste de la avenida 12 entre las calles 41 y 59. (Vea mapa-Área 5).
Mantener la clasificación de Zona Industrial.
Fomentar el recreo donde no estorbe la industria de embarque.

Administracion
Viviendas en buenas condiciones no serán demolidas sino

con un permiso especial.
Habrá un límite de viviendas por acre en el área de preservación.
Mudar inquilinos desplazados por la nueva construcción dentro del mismo vecindario en apartamentos parecidos y de alquileres baratos
Todas las propuestas serán revisadas por si acaso es posible utilizar fondos de varios programas del estado.
Una organización con miembros de la comunidad dirigirá la distribución de las primas y fondos de las obras por hacer.
Permiso especial será requerido para toda primar o propuestas fuera de esas autorizadas por el distrito especial.

Programas

Viviendas
Subvenciones federales de viviendas (Sección 23) permitirá que residentes de bajo nivel económico vivan en apartamentos renovados con alquileres no mas altos que el 25% de sus sueldos.

Quince millones de dólares en fondos de préstamos municipales y subvenciones de terrenos ayudará la renovación y construcción de apartamentos baratos.
Nueva construcción en el "Area de Preservación" será solo de 6 pisos de altura y densidad media.
Cumplimiento forzoso con la ley; exención de impuestos municipales paralos programas cooperativos y renovaciones si pertenecen al Programa de Preservación del Barrio Clinton.

Economia Local
Una Compañía de Desarrollos en Clinton que promoverá trabajos bajo el N.Y.S. Job Development Authority y el "Job Incentive Program".
Estacionamiento para clientes en el sector comercial de las avenidas 9 y 10.

Trafico
Hacer las restricciones en lotes de estacionamiento permanentes.
Buses y tráfico mayor en las calles transversales 42, 57, 49 y 50.
Convertir las avenidas 11 y 12 en rutas camioneras en lugar de las avenidas 9 y 10.
Convertir las calles 46 y 53 en vías para los peatones.

Espacios al Aire Libre
Varios lugares serán apartados dentro de las nuevas construcciones.
Una via para peatones desde Clinton Park hasta el muelle.
Adquisición de nuevos terrenos doblara los 11 acres de ahora.
Utilización del sitio de C.E.C. como espacios para toda la comunidad.

Descentralizacion
La formación de una Comisión de Servicios encargada del área de Preservación Vecindaria.
Proveer facilidades médicas y otros servicios para la comunidad donde sea realmente necesario.
La Comisión Local de Planificación revisará todos los detalles antes de ser presentados a la Comisión de Planificación de la ciudad de Nueva York.

forth by the judiciary. First, under the comprehensive planning requirements relied on heavily in the Udell case, it is indispensable that the planning objectives for the area be related to plans for the City as a whole. Second, the extensive process which has already occurred and will continue to occur following the submission of the Final Report must be fully documented, including a showing that alternatives were thoughtfully considered and rejected. In point of fact, as the Salamar case requires, it should be demonstrated that the redistribution system will, so far as the matter can be presently ascertained, achieve the stated objectives.

Because there is no question here that the private development market—albeit under the heavy prodding of public initiative—is the principal vehicle for achieving the stated goal, the Vernon Park case is extremely relevant. The “see-saw” effect of the rezoning—shifting land values, but maintaining an equilibrium for the entire system—should dispell qualms about the discriminatory intent or effect of the rezoning.

An ultra vires holding does not permanently preclude the use of a zoning technique. It does require the City to pursue approval for the technique from the State Legislature. “Outside the scope of the enabling legislation” is a judicial statement that a zoning change—touching heavily on economic and political considerations—should be made by a forum larger than the city’s political units.

Clinton—a family community

Zoning should do more than simply describe the existing development in a particular area. It should foster the more desirable elements of this development and discourage the less desirable elements as identified in the comprehensive plan for the area. Throughout this report, itself an integral part of that comprehensive plan, the importance of Clinton as a community for working class families has been stressed. The preservation of the large units necessary to house these families is a valid objective within the overall goal of preserving Clinton as a vital community. It is essential to the continued growth and stability of a community that it maintain a balance in its population between families and singles, old and young, etc.

Clinton’s old housing stock is capable of accommodating such a mixture. Unfortunately, Clinton’s old housing stock is also its most vulnerable. Through demolition of this housing, Clinton has begun to lose its stock of large apartments and therefore its large families. Over the last ten years or more, Clinton’s balance has been undermined by real or threatened redevelopment. Since 1960, the size of the average Clinton apartment has declined in every census tract, but most dramatically where a significant amount of new housing has been built. Since this new development is strictly oriented to efficiency or one bedroom apartments, it is incompatible with the diverse makeup of Clinton’s population.

Large families need large apartments

Further aggravating the situation is the fact that family-sized apartments are demolished to make way for these newer, smaller units. Between 1960 and 1970, 2300 family-sized units were torn down, while 1500 smaller units were built. The Mayor’s Office of Midtown Planning and Development has concluded that the “destruction of older housing has thus contributed to (Clinton’s) decreasing household size...” Despite these adverse developments, Clinton’s average family is still larger than the average Manhattan family (3.28 and 3.07 persons per family respectively). The need for more family-sized apartments is further underscored by the fact that in Clinton 4.7% of the units are overcrowded (1.5 or more persons per room), compared to Manhattan’s figure of 3.8%, or the City-wide figure of 2.9%.

Therefore, in order to prevent the further displacement of Clinton families, to ease the overcrowding, and to encourage the balanced development of the community, the preservation area zoning will include a minimum number of two-bedroom units per zoning lot. The remainder of the units may be of such size and mix as the owner desires.

New zoning will not impact present owners

The proposed downzoning will not create any hardships on property owners in the Preservation Area. It has been deliberately designed to protect existing development. Limits on rooms and apartments are based on ’70 census figures for typical Clinton tenements. Therefore, the nonconformance created by imposing this zoning is minimal. Property owners are allowed to continue their present uses. Even if such uses or buildings are nonconforming, they may be continued so long as the degree of nonconformance is not increased.

Preservation Area - Boundaries: (east) 100’ west of 8th Avenue; (west) 100’ west of 10th Avenue from 43rd Street to 50th Street, 10th Avenue from 50th

Street to 100’ north of 56th Street; (north) 56th Street between 9th and 10th Avenues; (south) 100’ north of 42nd Street between 8th and 9th Avenues, 43rd Street between 9th and 10th Avenues.

Present zoning unsuited to existing uses

Within this area, low density residential zoning is most appropriate on all streets. As noted throughout this report, this area constitutes the residential core of Clinton. Its present zoning, approximately FAR 6, much of which is commercial, contributes to the destructive pattern of speculative acquisition and assemblage of real estate in Clinton. A clear statement of municipal intent through rezoning will effectively discourage the continuation of the speculative syndrome previously described. The present zoning, at almost twice the density of the existing development, provides an expectation and, in some cases an incentive for redevelopment. The inappropriateness of this zoning is clearly reflected in the inordinately high assessed valuations assigned to Clinton properties. All other things being equal, an Old Law tenement is likely to be assessed at twice its normal value simply because of its location in Clinton. Since real estate taxes are based on these inflated assessed values, this makes the economic operation of tenement housing in Clinton even more difficult. The present zoning is unrelated to the predominant existing development in the area.

As far as new development is concerned, we have tried to demonstrate through the development of a housing prototype for the area that the proposed density is a realistic one. When the savings achieved by building at a low scale are taken into account, it becomes economically feasible to build at a low density in Clinton. This is further discussed in the Housing section.

Development potential intact

On the wider issue of curtailment of potential development and therefore of future City revenues, the proposed downzoning is quite defensible. Insofar as the downzoning is counterbalanced by an increase in development potential within the perimeter of the district, there will be no adverse impact on development or future revenues. In fact, since the Perimeter Area provides a much more efficient path for new development, the Citywide development potential is enhanced without threat to the Clinton community.

Until now, the combined impact of public development, such as the Convention Center and the Passenger Liner Terminal, and private development facilitated by public action, such as major housing projects, has created pressures hostile to the continuation of the Clinton community. In order to pursue a more balanced public policy in this area, the proposed downzoning is essential.

Specifically, the Preservation Area should be rezoned to the following parameters:

Bulk and Density:

30’ rear yard (minimum)

40’ combined front and rear yard (minimum)

Units should average 2 bedrooms.

65’ height limit on street frontages (maximum)

Parking: None permitted

Permitted Uses:

Residential

Commercial: 1 FAR on 9th Avenue, 2 FAR on 10th Avenue, ground floor on 46th and 53rd Streets and 51st Street between 8th and 9th Avenues

Noncompliance:

Existing commercial and manufacturing uses are to remain as legal noncomplying uses. No rehabilitation will be allowed which would increase the degree of noncompliance. All existing residential buildings are to be considered conforming.

Transitional Area - Boundaries: (east) 100’ west of 10th Avenue; (west) 11th Avenue; (north) 50th Street; (south) 43rd Street. Excludes E.C.F. site 44th to 45th Streets, 10th to 11th Avenues.

Mixed use zone

This is an area of mixed manufacturing and residential uses. The 10th to 11th Avenue corridor between 43rd and 50th Streets not only contains jobs for 2,800 workers, but dwellings for over 3,100 residents. Since both uses are necessary to the preservation of a balanced Clinton community, the present, exclusively manufacturing, zoning is not desirable. However, a diametrical shift to entirely residential zoning is not appropriate either. Since the potential for new residential development is much greater than that for new industrial development, residential zoning would quickly force jobs (many of them held by local residents) out of the area. The situation calls for a zoning which will allow both uses to co-exist without stifling the potential of a mixed use zone in this area with the following provisions:
Bulk and Density: 6.4 FAR-max. (For purposes of bulk distribution only, the area 100’ west of 10th Avenue is assumed to be at a density of R8.

Parking: None permitted

Permitted Uses: Residential and Manufacturing

New residential development will be permitted only in combination with manufacturing space. A prototype for such mixed use development is covered in more detail within the Housing section of this report.

Manufacturing and Waterfront Districts - Boundaries: 43rd to 57th Streets, 11th Avenue to the Hudson River. Excludes Convention Center and Clinton Park.

This corridor is a major employment center in Clinton, with over 4,800 jobs. Furthermore, the new development on its western edge will reinforce the area’s predominantly commercial and industrial character. Rezoning would only undermine a viable employment base of both local and city-wide importance. Unfortunately, Clinton’s only major open space is also located within this corridor. It would be a waste of a chronically scarce urban amenity if the area surrounding this park were restricted to industrial uses. Therefore, we propose the following zoning for this corridor:

Existing use and bulk designation to remain intact, except for the single blocks north and south of Clinton Park, which will be rezoned to residential use under these restrictions:

Bulk and Density:

4.88 to 6.02 FAR

822 to 968 rooms per acre

Permitted Uses: Residential

Parking: None permitted

Perimeter Area - Boundaries, in three sections:

1) **Upper section** - (east) 8th Avenue; (west) 12th Avenue; (north) 58th Street from 8th Avenue to 10th Avenue, 59th Street from 10th to 12th Avenues; (south) 56th Street from 8th to 9th Avenues, 100’ north of 56th Street from 9th to 10th Avenues, 56th Street from 10th to 11th Avenues and 57th Street from 11th to 12th Avenues.

2) **Mid-section** - (east) 8th Avenue; (west) 100’ west of 8th Avenue; (north) 56th Street; (south) 100’ north of 42nd Street.

3) **Lower section** - (west) 12th Avenue; (east) 8th Avenue; (north) 100’ north of 42nd Street from 8th to 9th Avenues, 43rd Street from 9th to 12th Avenues; (south) 41st Street.

This area is strategically the most desirable for new high density development in west midtown. It follows three major transportation corridors—8th Avenue, 42nd and 57th Streets—and is adjacent to the midtown Central Business District. In fact, 8th Avenue is already zoned for high density development, as are small parts of the upper and lower sections of the perimeter. By channeling the future course of development into the Perimeter Area, this rezoning will relieve the Preservation Area of the intense pressure for redevelopment which has undermined its existence of late.

Additionally, the 20% FAR bonus usually available in high density areas to developers who provide a plaza will not be available in this district. Plazas would not contribute anything to the character of the area. The overall district is already sufficiently low scale that the need for such an amenity is obviated. However, it is only equitable that similarly situated property owners (in this case all property owners in the 10 FAR zone) be treated alike. Therefore, the 20% FAR bonus will be made available in Clinton, but not for providing a plaza. In keeping with the primary goal of preserving Clinton, the 20% FAR bonus will be made available to those developers who perform various improvements appropriate to the Clinton area.

New York City already has special zoning districts that offer FAR bonuses under similar provisions. The Park and Fifth Avenue District revoked the plaza bonus and instituted a bonus system which is considered more appropriate for that area. It also allows FAR bonuses for off-site improvements. The Special Theatre District is an example of a vital but uneconomic use (theatres) being preserved through the judicious use of bonuses. All these elements are combined in the bonus system proposed for Clinton.

The following improvements are suggested as appropriate to enable a developer to qualify for a 20% FAR bonus in Clinton.

1. New parks and playgrounds
2. Improving existing parks and playgrounds
3. Improving existing housing
4. Pedestrian circulation improvements
5. Improving existing retail establishments
6. Improving transit facilities

The following controls are suggested for development within the Perimeter area:

Bulk & Density: 10 FAR 1452-1742 rooms per acre

Parking: None permitted

Permitted Uses: Commercial and/or Residential

Bonuses: Up to 20% increase in FAR when

developer performs specified community improvements of commensurate value.

Administration

Special Permits will be available through the City Planning Commission which (as usual) will not act without affording the Community Planning Board the opportunity to make its recommendation on each application.

Special Permits will be required for the following purposes:

1. Demolition of any sound housing in the District
2. New residential construction in the Transitional Area (allowed only in combination with industrial space)
3. New residential construction in the Preservation Area over 65' in height.
4. Any expansion or change of commercial or manufacturing use within the Preservation Area.
5. 20% FAR bonus in Perimeter Area.
6. Any residential rehabilitation that increases the number of dwellings in a structure.

Special Permits may be granted by the Planning Commission to those development or rehabilitation proposals that do not meet the specific provisions of this district upon a finding that:

- 1) The subject proposal does not transgress the stated goals of the Preservation District,
- 2) The project will not adversely affect the socio-economic balance of the surrounding neighborhood,
- 3) The operation of the project will not entail increased amounts of traffic or contribute to a degradation of the local environment,
- 4) There exists within Clinton a genuine need for the development proposed, and
- 5) The proposed building or use would not displace a building or use which is essential to the normal functioning of the neighborhood, especially residential uses.

Terminal and the main entrances to the Lincoln Tunnel, Clinton is already a daily battleground for taxis, trucks, buses, and private automobiles. Particularly in the morning and evening rush hours, traffic frequently builds to the capacity of avenues and streets. There is every reason to believe that the proposed Convention Center and the new Passenger Liner Terminal next to it will aggravate an already serious traffic situation. The current traffic study being conducted by Madigan Praeger Associates indicates the specifics of the projected increase in traffic for Clinton by 1985.

Street system should serve community

The orientation of our approach, as well as that of our entire plan, is toward preservation—not only of the physical structures in Clinton but of the vital community that lives within them. We view the streets then, as subservient to the community. The grid pattern exists to serve the neighborhood, not vice versa. All streets of equal width are not equally suited to traffic. Things like the number of schools, churches, playgrounds, and indeed, people, determine the character of a street—whether it is suitable for heavy traffic or light or none. In general, through traffic should be encouraged to follow routes around rather than through Clinton.

Convention Center traffic will choke community

We recognize that the extremely high level of peak hour traffic projected for the Convention Center combined with the already heavy peak hour traffic in the area will place a strain on the local street system. However, the Clinton community should not be made to bear the entire burden of this increased traffic.

The streets of Clinton serve to move vehicles to and from the West Side Highway, Lincoln Tunnel and central business district parking lots. A traffic study currently being considered by Madigan-Praeger Associates quantifies the traffic volumes and projects

that relates to city, state, and national priorities. Those transportation priorities, particularly at the state and national levels have relied and continue to rely on the automobile. It follows then, that state and federal highways are built to accommodate this attitude. Those highways connect cities, many like New York which were planned long before the automobile. The traffic is fed into street systems designed for horses and carriages—a slower, quieter, less dangerous mode of transportation, unfortunately not appropriate for our times.

The street system has real limitations—unlike a new highway—and in Clinton it appears that those limits will be reached. Thus any rearranging of traffic by attempting to remove it from certain streets becomes extremely difficult. Because the amounts of traffic here are so great, projections indicate that adjacent streets would be taxed beyond capacity.

New approach called for

Thus while we can, and will, articulate a proposal for rationalizing land use and vehicular traffic, the City's policy toward the automobile, including parking and mass transit, must change to accommodate any meaningful improvement in Clinton and in other similar areas of the City. Further, state and federal roles in transportation must be more inclusive in dealing with the problem. They must not only consider the effects of moving cars from 'A' to 'B' but also consider the effects on 'A' and 'B' and contribute to ameliorating those effects. We will offer then, first a new street system for Clinton, second, some short range possibilities for implementing that system, and third, a long range plan for effecting that system.

There is a need for a variety of street types in Clinton, streets which are responsive to not only capacity but the scale, character, and use of the adjacent property.

The Preservation Area

Streets between 8th and 10th Avenues, 43rd to 56th Streets (except 49th and 50th) should be limited access streets - for local servicing, resident and business use, and possibly local parking. All "through" traffic should be discouraged. 9th Avenue truck traffic should be diverted to 11th and 12th Avenues.

The Perimeter Area

Here where high rise development will increase and the street capacities are high (42nd, 57th and 8th Avenue) high traffic volumes are more acceptable - not necessarily welcomed. Parking, standing, turning should be carefully controlled to move traffic efficiently and maximize the width of the street for vehicles.

The Transitional and Manufacturing Areas

The area between 10th and 12th, 41st to 60th, needs a variety of street types due to its mixed and changing character. Certain streets can be assigned now - those adjacent to Clinton Park should be closed to traffic and "park" uses expanded. The specific nature of each street should be considered as development takes place—providing for streets that are oriented to the uses developed. Limited access streets similar to the P.A. recommendations would be appropriate in some cases. Other streets might be solely for servicing industry. The services would continue as presently used.

Policy changes needed

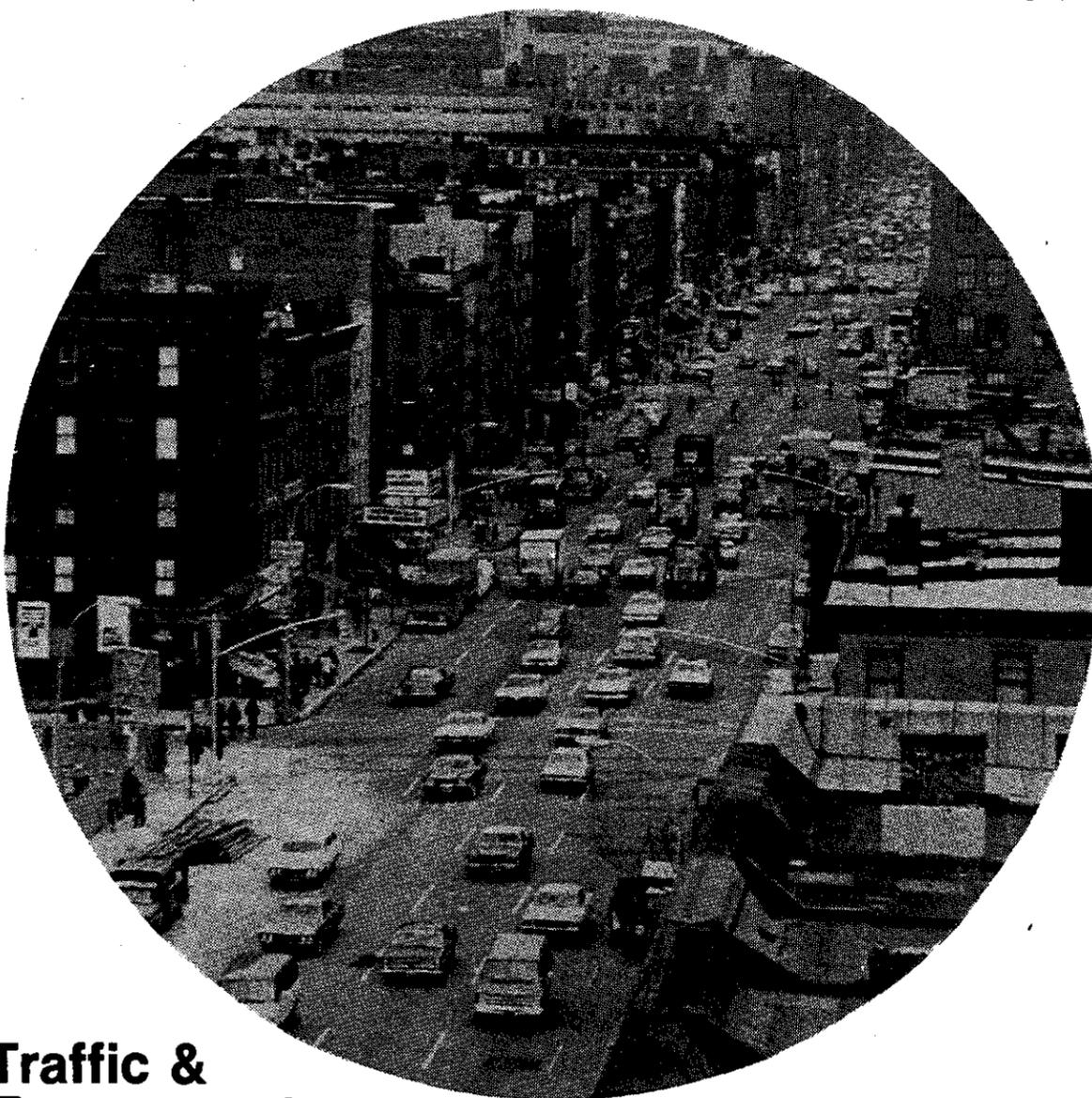
Since the volumes must be reduced to organize traffic responsive to the street definitions and this effort would require broad policy changes, those changes should be initiated immediately, and they include:

1. Ban on parking lots
2. Improved mass transit
3. Design controls on the proposed new West Side Highway which relate to the above and Clinton's need for different street types.

These changes described below would not only reduce the actual traffic problems in Clinton, but perhaps would also generate new thinking and attempts, based on their eventuality, on reorganizing vehicular movement in this area. Traffic Department please note.

Parking Lots

There are presently over 11,000 offstreet parking spaces within the Study Area. Since, as noted earlier, only 10% of Clinton's 17,000 families have cars, these parking facilities cannot be considered local resources. Furthermore, in light of the fact that there isn't even sufficient demand to justify the existing lots and garages, we recommend that no more offstreet parking facilities be allowed in Clinton. To accomplish this, the parking regulations put into effect concurrently with the Special Interim Preservation



Traffic & Transportation

One of the major difficulties in Clinton's daily functioning is transportation, particularly automobile traffic. As it presently exists, the mass transportation, serving Clinton is adequate, though not as convenient to the western sector of the community as it is to the eastern. With buses on the residential avenues, and crosstown buses on 49th and 50th Streets as well as the 8th Avenue subway, the Clinton area is well connected with Manhattan and the rest of the City. The transportation problems of the area, however, do not lie in getting to or from but with getting through Clinton. This is, then, not only a local but a City problem.

Auto traffic—a major problem—will worsen

Situated as it is, just north of the Port Authority

the influence of the Convention Center on Clinton's streets. The statistics gathered to date indicate that Clinton's serious traffic problems will only get worse. The amount of traffic is such that when the Convention Center is operating, many streets will actually have traffic above their capacity and much of Clinton will have heavy traffic.

Traffic more than a local problem

Only a small portion of Clinton's traffic is generated by local residents and businesses, yet all of the area is effected by this. The problem is clear—there is little relationship between land use and traffic in Clinton—it is Clinton's unique location which is the overriding cause of traffic problems. A comparable neighborhood outside the C.B.D. area would not have half the traffic that Clinton does.

The problem is not only one of location, but one

District should be retained on a permanent basis in Clinton.

Improving Mass Transit

The lack of a major crosstown street between 42nd and 57th, makes 49th and 50th the logical replacement. They are not wider than any other east/west street in Clinton, and therefore should not carry a bus which is large, polluting, and difficult to maneuver. The number of trips should be increased, while the offensive vehicular characteristics are reduced. Experiments with reducing the number of stops, express buses and rerouting to serve the C.E.C. and P.L.T. should be tried. These recommendations would hold true for all buses in Clinton. Perhaps, some combination of vehicular type and trip characteristics could produce an economic and environmental situation which is balanced.

There will be a need for increased north/south rapid transit as the west side of Manhattan develops. Battery Park City, the Convention Center, the 135th Street waterfront development, and future developments of the rail yards and dying industrial areas will make this need more clear. The form and location are beyond the scope of this study, but the West Side Highway reconstruction offers a rare potential for comprehensive development—vehicular movement, parking, rapid transit and access to the waterfront are all possible.

Use of the existing rail road right of way, west of 10th Avenue, in conjunction with the existing subway lines is another situation which appears to deserve consideration, but cannot be dealt with here.

The West Side Highway

At the time of this writing, it is unclear whether the West Side Highway will be reconstructed north of 42nd Street and if so, in what form. Latest estimates of the situation describe a new elevated highway, with access ramps just south of 42nd Street and north of 57th Street. The highway would be designed for truck traffic, and this description seems logical; while not ideal for Clinton, an improvement. The highway would end at 72nd Street, with direct access to the Lincoln Tunnel.

This design would place greater emphasis on improving traffic flows at Clinton's perimeter. The removal of the 53rd Street ramps and the improvements anticipated for 12th Avenue, make reconsideration of the access to the C.E.C. and diversion of street traffic in the middle of Clinton possible.

Further consideration should be given to including direct access to new parking at the 42nd and 57th Street ramps, replacing some of the parking lots which will hopefully be phased out of Clinton. An efficient 12th Avenue could provide entrances and exits from the C.E.C. for taxis and buses, removing the inclination to approach this facility from any other east/west street, except 42nd and 57th.

Problems and possibilities

All of the possibilities outlined require much study, and projections based on the assumptions would indicate the implications of any possible improvement. This is the kind of traffic/transportation investigation that could help relieve Clinton's traffic problems. The issues are complex and tentative, yet offer alternatives. With the alternatives quantified, some work could begin on attempting to re-direct and control traffic. This should be tried by identifying the most likely prospects in the Preservation Area and limiting traffic on those streets for a study of the results. The continued attitude that traffic can only get worse is becoming the basis for planning in New

York City, and therefore self-defeating.

Devices such as bumper strips, necking, enforcement, new signage and regulations could all be studied within the scope of a well directed experiment, and Clinton is an ideal place to begin such work. The results of such a study for testing a variety of possibilities would at least provide a clear yard stick for measuring "it won't work." That phrase, like most, is subject to a number of interpretations and questions—who won't it work for, how won't it work. What are the implications of "won't work"—would it discourage cars from entering the C.B.D.? If so, is that bad—there has not been enough experimentation in this area, to offer definitive projections without trying some new methods.

Local Economy

It is ironic that now, just as the Clinton community is finding new life, the industries that originally created the community are fading. Those light industries that spawned the working class community are in many instances suffering a dramatic rate of attrition as facilities become obsolete and firms cannot afford to replace them. As previously noted, almost 19% of the industrially zoned Clinton land is vacant. Manufacturing jobs, traditionally the largest employment group in the City, have fallen to the third largest group in Clinton, behind service and wholesale/retail jobs. This phenomenon is not peculiar to Clinton's industries, rather it is part of a City-wide trend.

Manufacturing jobs decline

The trend in the level and composition of employment within the CSA have undoubtedly paralleled those trends for Manhattan as a whole (see Table 9). Total employment in Manhattan remained virtually unchanged during the past decade at around 2.0 to 2.2 million jobs. However its composition has changed substantially during that period. White collar employment and businesses have displaced blue collar categories. On a boroughwide basis, manufacturing employment fell by 14% between 1964 and 1972, from 499,000 to 428,000. The number of Manhattan's manufacturing firms fell even more rapidly during this period, from 19,100 to 13,900, for a 27% decline. Thus, while Manhattan's blue collar job base, as represented by manufacturing employment, has been shrinking rapidly, the individual firms within this sector remaining in Manhattan have been increasing in size.

While the future of local industry is not positive, the jobs they provide are vital to the continuation of a balanced Clinton community.

City-wide problems

In general, the CSA suffers as a potential location for manufacturing activities for the same reasons that Manhattan and New York City as a whole do.

Existing industrial facilities cannot for the most part accommodate themselves to the most effective current production and distribution technologies. Moreover, in most cases, this space cannot economically be rehabilitated to perform in this fashion. The existing industrial buildings in such places as the CSA were constructed to meet the economic requirements of relatively small scale manufacturing firms at a time when much of intercity goods movement was by rail and when the task of recruiting a labor force was constrained in a way that

forced firms to locate themselves either within walking distance of their potential labor force or at the end of a short and cheap mass transit trip. As these underlying conditions have changed, the economic viability of industrial districts such as the one to be found in Clinton has tended to falter.

Local problems

In addition, the CSA's industrial complex also suffers from special local problems which hinder industrial preservation efforts. As portions of the Clinton area are rebuilt, both publicly and privately, many older commercial buildings and industrial structures are displaced by new construction or by interim parking lots. The designation of the Urban Renewal Area led to a substantial displacement of jobs in the CSA. Some 20% of Clinton's existing vehicular servicing firms, in addition to other industries, will be affected by the time the Renewal Project is completed. Projected new developments such as the HRH and UDC housing projects will also displace a significant number of jobs within the CPA.

An additional problem in Clinton has been the longterm decline of the area's waterfront and shipping activity. Like other aging pier areas of the city, Clinton's waterfront has suffered from the development of new shipping technology, especially containerization, which is more suited for use in port areas where large amounts of backup space are available as in New Jersey. But, while it is hardly likely that cargo trade will ever return to the Clinton waterfront, the new Superliner Terminal should at least serve to strengthen the area's passenger ship trade, thus insuring that the waterfront will continue to be a source of jobs for dock workers in the future.

Any plan for Clinton should attempt to encourage both the retention of older industries and the creation of new ones to the fullest extent possible. The blue collar industries that are likely to fare best in Clinton in the future are those which also serve as important supports for the Midtown office complex.

Industrial preservation

Aside from the possibility of future office development Clinton's major hopes in employment must be based on retaining those industries which it already possesses. An industrial preservation policy for Clinton, if it is to be viable must concentrate on seeking out those industries which can benefit from a location within Clinton. Inevitably, Clinton's mixture of activities is changing toward those which can best take advantage of its central location. For example, unless its loft buildings are destroyed, the printing industry is not likely to leave the CSA altogether, because it offers a rapid access to the office complex in Midtown. In line with this, Clinton's best industrial buildings should be identified and singled out for special protection from demolition. These structures, although relatively few in number, are of disproportionate importance to the industrial community due to their size, interior equipment and capacity to sustain heavy floor loads. Rehabilitation of existing space in these structures might prove to be a workable and useful program. However, rehabilitation costs are high and major government financing and subsidization would be necessary to implement such a program on a significant scale. It might be possible to develop additional incentives involving tax abatement which would help encourage rehabilitation of existing industrial space. One possibility, detailed in the housing section, might be to develop new industrial space in conjunction with new residential construction by requiring a developer, in return for a substantial upzoning, to either create such space within its development or contribute toward its construction elsewhere.

In addition to the above possibilities, Clinton firms should also seek to obtain as much business as possible from the new business that will inevitably be generated by the Convention Center. This could be a particularly important factor for restaurants and wholesaler supplying restaurants within the CSA. In addition, a major form of export activity within Clinton is its restaurant trade. These could be strengthened perhaps by encouraging increased concentration and environmental amenities along specific streets such as 46th Street. Finally, Ninth Avenue retail concentration could be aided by changing parking policies so as to permit limited parking by customers along the Avenue and by relaxing restrictions on sidewalk display of goods.

Stabilizing local industrial employment

At present, the film, automotive, and printing industries are still relatively well represented in Clinton, and because of the obvious advantages of location near the CBD, they are likely to remain so. However, new industry is not likely to locate on Clinton's comparatively high priced industrial land. The alternative then, is to consolidate Clinton's industries, particularly those whose future seems stable. As mentioned above, the area between 11th and 12th Avenues is probably the

TABLE 9
Changes in the Number of Employees and Number of Reporting Units in Selected Industries Within Manhattan, 1964-1972

Industry	Number of Employees *		Total Reporting Units *	
	1964 (000)	1972	1964 (actual number)	1972
Manufacturing	499.6	428.3	19,123	13,944
Printing & pub.	105.5	88.9	3,618	3,022
Newspapers	18.9	13.9	87	89
Periodicals	22.2	19.9	486	410
Books	16.3	16.4	368	319
Misc. pub.	4.0	4.9	305	228
Comm'l ptg.	24.4	20.0	1,689	1,332
Business forms mfg.	.5	.5	35	23
Greeting card mfg.	2.1	.4	38	21
Bookbinding, etc.	8.0	4.7	289	227
Printing trades svcs.	9.0	7.3	304	271
Wholesale trade	233.7	214.4	19,149	14,534
Retail trade	241.0	223.7	17,407	13,992
Automotive dealers & svce. stations	3.8	4.5	317	243
Services	482.2	544.1	31,330	27,715
Motion Pictures	17.0	18.7	849	966
Picture Production & Dist.	8.9	9.8	585	663
Motion Picture Svce.	3.5	3.2	120	143
Automotive Repair, Svcs. & Garages	8.5	9.2	1,038	847

* As of mid-March pay period
Sources: US Bureau of the Census, County Business patterns



most appropriate for continued industrial use. However, we recognize that relocation to this corridor is an impractical and uneconomic undertaking for most of the local industries. Therefore, mixed use zones should be created where local industries can continue to function without being forced out by pressures for large scale residential rezoning and redevelopment.

As blue collar manufacturing jobs have declined in recent years, there has been an equally remarkable rise in the level of blue collar employment in the service sector. Obviously then, a large contribution toward stabilizing Clinton's, and in fact New York City's, employment picture could be made in facilitating the transition from one type of employment to the other.

In large part, this responsibility could be taken up by a Local Development Corporation. This corporation could develop job training programs, attract new employers to the area, sponsor its own projects, and carry out programs funded by the State Job Development Authority. One of Clinton's greatest resources is its labor force. The level of flexibility and adaptability which is instilled in this labor force will determine whether it will adapt to a changing local job scene or face economic extinction.

Speculation threatens local stores

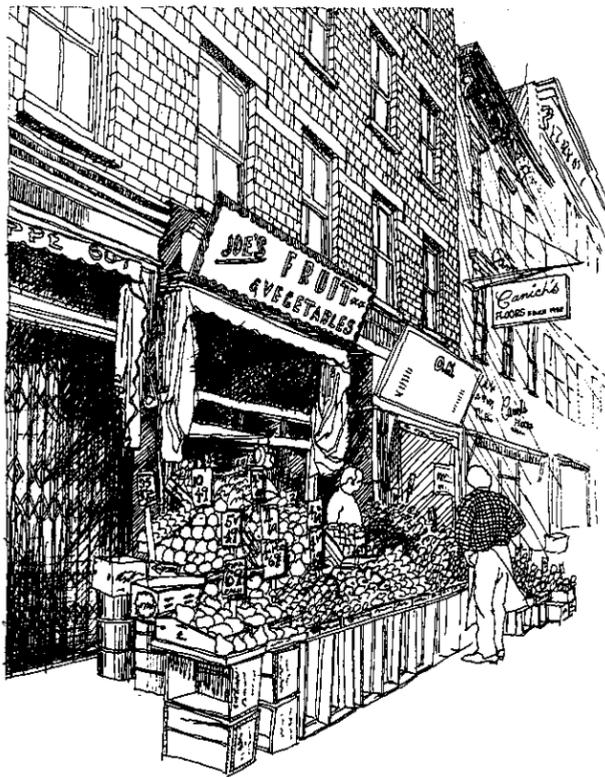
The local wholesale/retail outlets are also in need of some rejuvenation. In general, there seems to be a pronounced tendency for smaller retailers to go out of business and for the remaining firms to grow larger. Since the smaller retailers tend to be concentrated within neighborhood shopping streets, they have undoubtedly accounted for the high proportion of the vacancies which have begun to appear with such frequency.

However, this problem does not stem from any inherent weakness in the local economy, rather it is more likely associated with what might be viewed as the economic potential for redevelopment of the area. Particularly on 9th Avenue, it has become increasingly difficult to obtain long term leases at reasonable rents. In some cases landlords are refusing to allow any commercial leases longer than a few months and are compounding the difficulty by inordinate rent increases. Under such conditions it is virtually impossible to continue a successful wholesale or retail operation. A merchant would be foolish to invest more capital in his operation or try to expand with no assurance that he won't be forced to vacate at the end of the month.

The problem can largely be traced to speculative activity in the Clinton area. It is common knowledge that, in some cases, owners of residential properties try to rid themselves of tenants in order to offer an unencumbered, and therefore more valuable, property for sale and/or redevelopment. Much the same can be said for owners of commercial properties in areas such as Clinton where the prospects for redevelopment have been so high. Without the legal restrictions facing the owner of residential property, commercial landlords are virtually free to set rents and lease terms as they will, many times with no intention of actually renting the space. Evidence of this type of activity was noted earlier; i.e., 62% of the vacant stores on 9th Avenue are owned and held vacant by known assemblers of land in Clinton.

Strategies for local retail

In as much as several of our proposals are designed



to deal directly with the problem of speculation, this particular situation should be alleviated within that context. However, in the interest of stabilizing the local wholesale/retail base, more specific measures such as minimum leasing periods and tax incentives on commercial leases should be implemented.

Of these two mechanisms, the tax incentives are by far the more accessible. There seems to be no precedent for any commercial rent control, although this alone would not be sufficient reason to reject the idea. There are, however, programs in existence whose aim is to reduce the tax burdens of small businesses in economically disadvantaged areas.

Under the New York State Job Incentive Program, eligible small businesses in areas such as Clinton, mainly manufacturing firms, may receive business tax credits and (more importantly) full or partial exemption from local real property taxes. The program also makes these firms eligible for significant savings on the New York State Franchise Tax which represents approximately 9% of net earnings.

Unfortunately, the New York City Council has not yet adopted the legislation necessary to make the property tax exemption available to New York City firms. Eligible firms may, however, receive relief from the Franchise Tax since it is a State not a City tax. We recommend that the passage of the necessary legislation be made a priority item on the Council's agenda. This program would benefit not only the small business people in Clinton, but the City as a whole, retaining firms and jobs that otherwise may not remain or survive in New York City.

On a less sophisticated but equally vital level, 9th Avenue can help itself. A good example of this is the "9th Avenue Festival" held on May 11th and 12th. By displaying its own variety and vitality as a retail center, 9th Avenue has taken a big step toward establishing its own future. Regardless of what leasing arrangements are introduced and enforced, or what tax benefits are

obtained, the full potential of the avenue will never be realized unless new shoppers and new retailers are attracted to the area by its existing shops and restaurants.

Population

Projections of future population growth are at best a tenuous exercise. The longer the range of projection, the less likely it is to be accurate. Furthermore, extrapolation of past trends is rarely justified by present circumstances. Unfortunately for demographers, people don't simply multiply arithmetically or geometrically or even according to a cohort survival ratio. They have a fairly predictable tendency to be unpredictable. Therefore, rather than attempt to assiduously forecast the course of Clinton's population growth over the next 10 years according to any mathematical model, it is just as easy and probably more accurate to adopt a set of reasonable assumptions and work from them toward a realistic conclusion regarding Clinton's population in, say, 1985.

Clinton's population may increase by 20,000

One such assumption would be that, for reasons stated earlier, Clinton will not lose any more population. This is also predicated on the end of the rampant speculative assemblage and concomitant abuses that have in the past forced so many Clinton families and residents out.

Another would be that the Urban Renewal area will be completely redeveloped within 10 years. Since the first stage has proceeded relatively smoothly so far, this does not seem overly optimistic.

It is also likely that sites for which housing developments have already been proposed will, within the next 10 years, come to fruition at approximately the densities proposed. This is conservative in that it involves no speculation about developers whose existence is yet to be established. These proposals have already been put forth, several are already in some stage of planning or development. For instance, the HRH site with 1,700 units, the Parc Vendome with 1,000 units, ECF P.S. 51 site with 400 to 600 units, etc. All told, new housing developments can be expected to contribute in the range of 10,000 to 11,000 units in the next 10 years.

The next assumption would assign a number of persons per unit in these new developments. Since the average family size in Clinton is significantly lower than the City average of 2.7 persons per family, and the trend in the private market is toward a distribution of smaller apartments, a fairly low number of persons per unit can be assumed, say 2 persons per apartment. This takes into account the somewhat larger households expected to occupy the low and moderate income units, especially within the Preservation Area.

Furthermore, it must be assumed that at least some of the new apartments, particularly in the Urban Renewal area, will be taken by present Clinton residents.

When all these factors are taken into consideration, we are led to conclude that Clinton will experience an increase in population on the order of 20,000 new residents by 1985.

Only slight changes in composition of population

However, it is not only the magnitude of the new population that determines its impact on a community, but its composition, age, sex, income, ethnicity, etc.

Clinton is a comparatively mature community; i.e., more residents in higher age brackets, fewer children. The new population is expected to be somewhat younger but, in keeping with City and nationwide trends, will probably not have many children. This is important in planning for future schools, parks, and community facilities.

In Clinton, as in the City, females maintain a slight edge over males in the population. This is not expected to change. In fact, females may increase their share of independent households in the future.

As in the past, Clinton's average income will probably remain somewhat below the City average. However, the new residents, particularly those who move into housing on Clinton's periphery, are likely to have higher than average incomes, thus raising Clinton's average somewhat. Again, this is important in anticipating the type of community facilities required by the future residents.

Clinton has been, and is expected to continue to be, an ethnically stable area. No major shifts in race or national origin can be predicted in the overall composition of the new population or in the combined new and existing population.

Housing

As mentioned earlier, the quality of the Old Laws in Clinton is good compared to Old Laws in other areas of the City. Most need only minimum to moderate rehabilitation. But regardless of the amount of

rehabilitation, Old Law tenements will never make model apartments. However, they will provide decent, low cost housing for thousands of families who might otherwise be in public housing (or more likely, on the waiting list for public housing) or struggling to pay astronomical rents for newer but smaller apartments elsewhere.

In any case, the main point that should be stressed in this connection is that the CSA's existing low and moderate income households probably do not have realistic alternatives within the city's presently extremely tight housing market. This by itself is a major argument for keeping these families right where they are and for developing policies which can reduce the negative effects of current trends within the CSA on their housing opportunities.

Rents lower than 25% of income

It is not surprising, given Clinton's average income, that Clinton's rent levels are quite low compared to other areas of the City. But it is interesting to note that rent levels in Clinton as compared to income levels in Clinton are also lower than might be expected. In short, Clinton's housing is in some respects a bargain, considerations of quality aside. As mentioned earlier, typical Clinton residents pay approximately 17 to 18% of their income for rent; quite a bit below the norm of 25%. Unfortunately, the economics of rehabilitation and refinancing properties in Clinton are such that even if the rents of Clinton were raised to the level of 25% of the incomes, they still would not be sufficient to cover the projected costs. This is true whether conventional or Municipal Loan financing is used.

Municipal loan rehab raises rents

This conclusion is based on the following analysis and upon present income and rental information in Clinton.

Assumptions:

1. Old Law Tenement—12 units
2. Moderate Rehabilitation
3. Municipal Loan/Municipal Tax Exemption.

Capital Costs:

Acquisition	\$85,000 (typical of recent sales)
Rehab	120,000 (\$10,000 per dwelling unit etc.)
Total	\$205,000

Debt Service

6¾% for 30 years or .00625 x Capital (per month)
 .00625 x 205,000 = \$1,280.00/month
 or using 4.0 rooms/unit 27.00/room/month

Maintenance

at \$15/room/month 15.00/room/month

Taxes

\$50,000 x .065
 \$3,250/year or 5.00/room/month

Total \$47.00/room/month

At 4.0 rooms per apartment this translates into a monthly rental of \$188.00/month

N.B. The above figures are deliberately approximate as each building's financing may vary by some percentage of these estimated parameters. Since the average Clinton family can only afford a monthly rental in the area of \$130, it is obvious that the Municipal Loan rent of \$188.00 per month is not appropriate for Clinton.

No subsidies available

This would present quite a dilemma in any context, but the present situation in housing in the U.S. in general and in New York City in particular is, to say the least, discouraging. Since January 1973, the Federal government has had virtually no housing policy or program. It has suspended its former interest subsidy programs for low and moderate income housing. New York, along with the other major cities in the country, is simply incapable of picking up the tremendous burden imposed by this lack of Federal action. Meanwhile, in the housing industry itself, costs keep rising farther and farther from the reach of people of low and moderate incomes such as Clinton's residents.

Potential subsidies

Clearly, some form of subsidy is needed to make any housing rehabilitation or, indeed, any new construction program work in Clinton, keeping rents within 25% of the residents' income. There are several mechanisms which now exist or could be made available within a matter of months which are applicable to Clinton's particular housing problems. Taken separately, no one of these is sufficient to upgrade a significant portion of Clinton's housing, nor to bridge the gap between income and rents. However, taken together, each being applied where it is most appropriate, they could in time accomplish a great deal in Clinton.

Federal program resurrected?

The most promising of these mechanisms is a new (or revised) Federal public housing leasing program, formerly titled Section 23. The basic provisions of this program would allow for rehabilitation (where required) of privately owned multiple dwellings which would in turn be leased to the Housing Authority at a predetermined "market rent" and then made available to low and moderate income tenants who would pay up to 25% of their income as rent to the owner of the property. The Federal government would contribute the difference between 25% of the tenant's income and the "market rent". Not only would this program stimulate rehabilitation, keeping rents within Clinton residents' means, but it provides for cooperative ownership as well.

Clinton (along with the 4 other Neighborhood Preservation Areas in the City) has already received a commitment from the Federal government for funding under this program. Unfortunately, the program itself is not expected to be put into effect before Autumn 1974 at the earliest. Whenever the program is enacted, the City will have the responsibility for allocating the available funds to the neighborhoods in need of them. Therefore, a commitment of a portion of these funds to Clinton is required of the City in order to make this program a reality.

City commitment needs supplement

Even without Federal subsidies, New York City has the resources to alleviate some of Clinton's most severe housing problems. In a typical low income neighborhood, the City's commitment of 15 million dollars in Municipal Loan funds would be a step toward rehabilitating a lot of housing. However, in Clinton, the value of the land which is invariably reflected in rents under the Municipal Loan program is inordinately high. As speculative value of land in Clinton has increased, the assessed value has ceased to bear a reasonable relation to the buildings built upon it or to the incomes of those who live within the buildings. In fact, in some cases, a vacant piece of land is worth more than an adjacent property with a multiple dwelling upon it. It is not surprising then that the cost of acquisition (which is usually quite low under the Municipal Loan program) sometimes exceeds the cost of rehabilitation, thus increasing the resultant rents beyond what Clinton residents can afford.

In order to obviate this problem, we propose that the City, through its Urban Renewal land write-down, or through a reversionary interest program, underwrite the cost of acquiring properties in Clinton, thereby leaving the basic cost of rehabilitating the structure and its subsequent maintenance and operation to be borne by the tenants through their rental payments. Preliminary cost estimates indicate that such a program would enable Clinton residents to remain in their present homes (although some rehabilitation jobs may necessitate temporary relocation) at rents approximating 25% of their income.

The City has, through Executive Order #80, articulated a policy of Neighborhood Preservation in Clinton. Subsequently, it committed 15 million dollars of Municipal Loan funding to effect this policy. Since this has proved to be inadequate in and of itself, it is not unreasonable to expect that the City will fulfill its original commitment by applying ad-

ditional resources sufficient to effectively impelment its preservation policy in Clinton.

CAPITAL WRITEDOWN ASSUMPTIONS

This section discusses the specific assumptions used in calculating the estimate of the capital writedown needed under the Municipal Loan Program for a typical walkup building assuming moderate rehabilitation costs (see table 10).

The typical walkup for our purposes is assumed to have 13 housing units. This figure is based on an analysis of data provided by the New York City Real Property Assessment Division. According to this source, the average size of Old Law tenement building, which is assumed to be equivalent to walkups in the CSA is 13 housing units. New Law tenements and Class A multiple dwellings are much larger in size, but it was assumed, for purposes of our analysis, that these would not be included in any rehabilitation effort.

The total number of rooms for a typical walkup is assumed to be 39 or 3 rooms per housing unit. This is based upon an analysis of 1970 U.S. Bureau of the Census data for the Census Planning District area. The figures for average household income and average contract rent on an annual basis were similarly calculated from U.S. Census Bureau data from the 1970 Census of Housing and Population.

Moderate rehabilitation costs

Rehabilitation costs were estimated at \$10,000 per dwelling unit. Fees, the other element in the rehab cost calculation, were uniformly estimated at 10% of brick and mortar costs. Acquisition costs were based on recent real estate transactions within Clinton. The equity component of the total financing requirement under the Municipal Loan Program is calculated at 10%.

The overall economic rent calculation is the sum of five separate components. The major category is debt service. The debt service requirement is based on the assumption of a 6% mortgage repayable in level payments over a 30-year term. Property taxes are calculated by assuming tax abatement down to 10% of shelter rent. Maintenance and operating costs are on the basis of \$180 per room per year. The miscellaneous cost category consists of water and sewer charges and reserves. The return on equity is on the basis of an 8% rate of return. The sum of these items produces the annual rent per housing unit which is the economic rent that would be required to provide housing services at a given level of maintenance and a given level of capital investment.

Rents 25% of income

The potential rental receipts per housing unit from existing tenants is based on a simple calculation of 25% of the existing tenant's income. This is a standard, but somewhat high percentage. The existing tenant's income is hypothesized to be \$7,000 based on analysis of census data for 1970. The resulting economic gap is the difference between the economic rent which is required and the potential rental receipts from existing tenants' income. The final calculation, required debt reduction for an entire building, represents the capital writedown which would be needed to bring rent requirements within the economic rent-paying capacity of existing tenants.

TABLE 10

Calculation of Capital Writedown Needed under Municipal Loan Program for a Typical CSA Walkup Building Using Moderate Rehabilitation Cost Estimate

Total Housing Units	13
Total Number of Rooms	39
Average Household income (annual)	\$7000
Average Contract Rent (annual)	\$1025
	Moderate Rehabilitation at \$10000 per apartment
Rehabilitation Costs	
Brick and Mortar Costs	\$130,000
Fees	13,000
Total Rehab Costs	143,000
Acquisition Costs	85,000
Total Financing Requirements	228,000
Equity	22,800
Mortgage Debt	205,200
Rent Calculation	
Debt Service	15,800
Property Taxes	2,794
Maintenance and Operating Costs	7,020
Misc. Costs	500
Returns on Equity	1,825
Required Rental Income for Entire Structure, Annual	27,939
Monthly Required Rent per Room	59
Annual Required Rent per Housing Unit	2,145
Maximum Potential Receipts per Housing Unit from Existing Tenants At 25% of Income	1,750
Economic Gap	395
Required Debt Reduction for Entire Building (CAPITAL WRITEDOWN)	68,500

TABLE 11

Calculation of Capital Writedown Needed Under Section 236 of the U.S. Housing Act of 1969 for a Typical CSA Walkup Using Moderate Rehabilitation Cost Estimates

Total Housing Units	13
Total Number of Rooms	39
Average Household Income (annual)	\$7000
Average Contract Rent (annual)	\$1025
	Moderate Rehabilitation at \$10000 per apartment
Rehabilitation Costs	
Brick and Mortar Costs	\$130,000
Fees	13,000
Total Rehabilitation Costs	143,000
Acquisition Costs	85,000
Total Financing Requirements	228,000
Equity	22,800
Mortgage Debt	205,200
Rent Calculation	
Debt Service	6,590
Property Taxes	1,644
Maintenance and Operating Expenses	7,020
Misc. Costs	500
Returns on Equity	684
Required Rental Income from Entire Structure, Annual	15,438
Monthly Required Rent per Room	33
Annual Required Rent per Housing Unit	1,189
Maximum Potential Rental Receipts per Housing from Existing Tenants At 25% of Income	1,750
Economic Gap	—
Required Debt Reduction for Entire Building (CAPITAL WRITEDOWN)	—

Thus, if 25% of tenant income is used as the standard for economic rent-paying capacity, a typical walkup in the CSA would require a subsidy in the form of a capital writedown of \$68,500.

Similar calculations were carried out in connection with the Section 236 Program (see table 11). One minor difference in calculating the subsidy requirements under the two programs, is the fact that the required return on equity under the 236 Program is only 6%, compared to 8% on the Municipal Loan Program. The big difference however between the two programs is in connection with debt service. Debt service under Section 236 is based on the assumption of a 1%, 30-year mortgage. As a result, the rehabilitation estimate using Section 236, calls for debt service of \$6,590 compared to the debt service of \$15,800 under the Municipal Loan Program. It is a requirement under Section 236 that tenants pay 25% of their income in rents. However, because of the impact of the low interest mortgage on the rent structure, if Section 236 could be utilized, no capital writedown subsidy would be required.

Our analysis of the proposed Section 23 Program for Public Housing Leasing within the CSA indicates that no capital writedown would be required. This is because under the Section 23 Program in New York City maximum eligible rents will probably be in the area of \$70 per room per month. Under this program such rents could be lowered according to the income of the tenants, i.e. according to what they can afford to pay.

Local resources channeled into housing rehab

Another, perhaps more innovative, means of improving the general condition of Clinton and its housing stock can be implemented under the Clinton special purpose district's 20% FAR bonus. The special district bonus has been used by the City in several different contexts in the past, but always to the benefit of the City as a whole and the subject community in particular. In one district, it has been used to encourage the development of vital but uneconomic uses such as theatres. In another, it encourages pedestrian bridges across streets, shopping arcades, and improvements to nearby subway stations. In yet another, it establishes a parks improvement fund to distribute the contributions made by developers within that district. Perhaps the most common manifestation of the City's use of this mechanism is the ubiquitous plaza that marks the midtown office district.

Although these examples are varied, each one reflects the basic premise that certain areas of the City have a special character and that it is within the purview of zoning to encourage new developments within such districts to bear a part of the burden which they create by their presence.

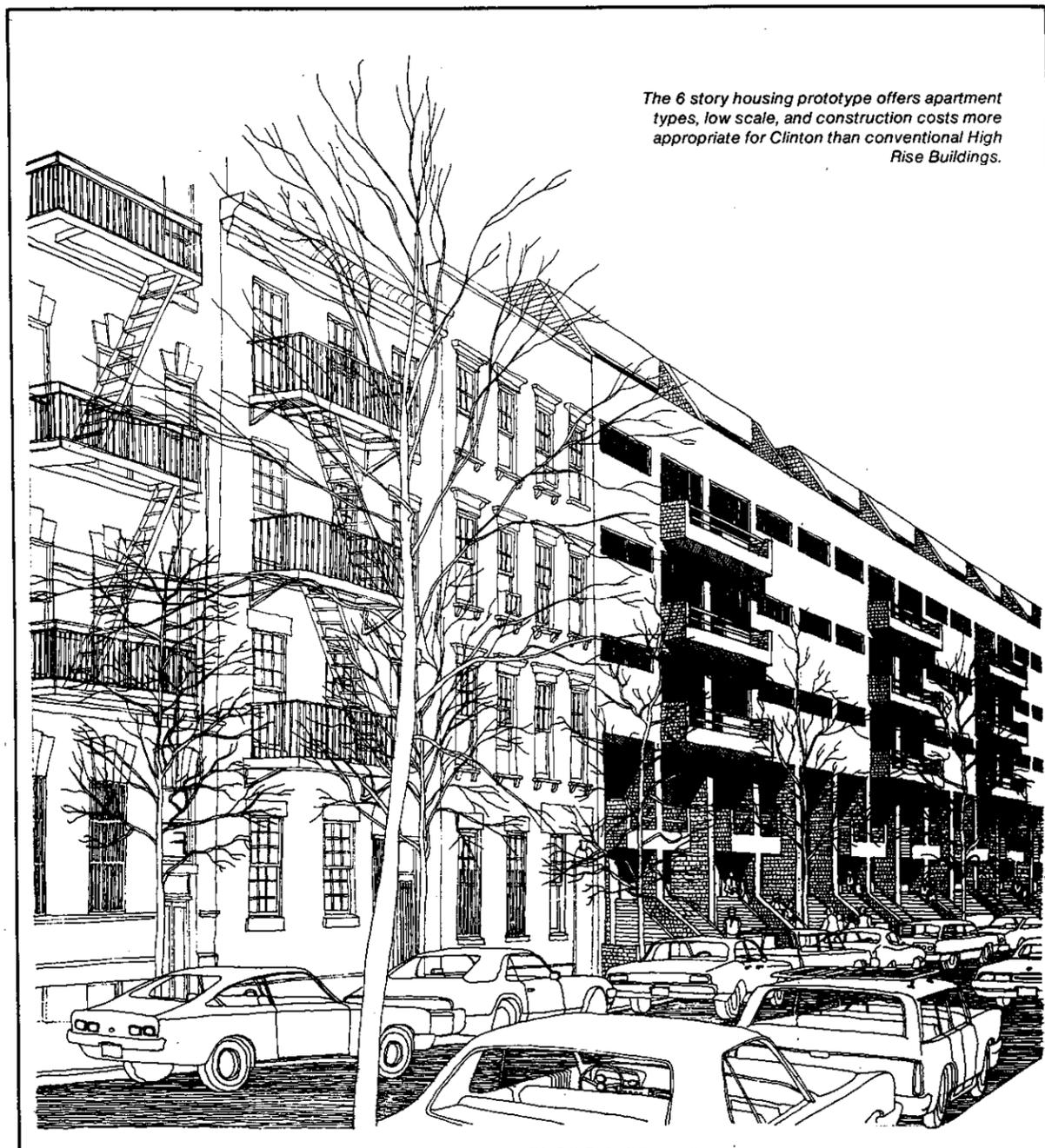
In instituting this mechanism in Clinton, the City will merely be applying the same principle it has established in other areas of the City which have a special character. This will not only have the effect of helping to preserve Clinton as a stable, working class neighborhood, with low scale, low rent housing, but will enable each new development in the district to contribute toward the upgrading of Clinton's tenements, parks, and streets. As the various development proposals come forward, the developers will simply perform appropriate community improvements to be outlined within the special district in order to receive a maximum 20% bonus in development rights. These community improvements might include a variety of things from rehabilitating an Old Law tenement to acquiring a parcel of land for a local park. As in other such districts, no developers will be asked to undertake an action that would ordinarily be the City's responsibility nor would they be required to participate in any bonus provisions of the special district.

Development rights valued

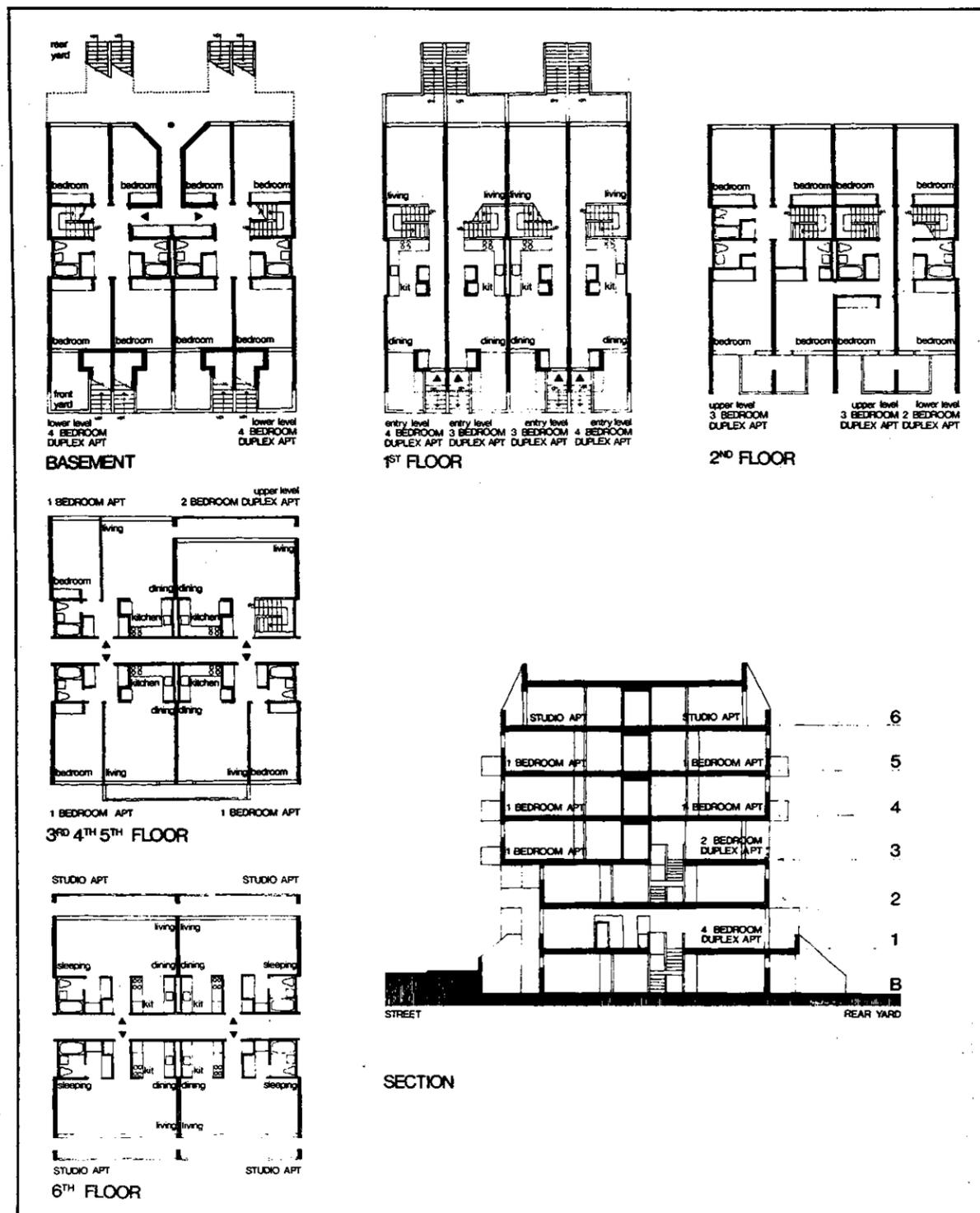
Based on recent transactions within the corridors proposed for new high density development, we conclude that a reasonable market value for land in this area is about \$75 to \$100 per square foot. In terms of development rights, (assuming a zoning of 10 FAR and a 2 FAR bonus provision - total 12 FAR) this implies a value of approximately \$8 per square foot per FAR. This figure provides a context in which the performance of a developer can be measured against the value imputed to the FAR bonus allowed him.

Coordinated commitment and application of resources

Estimates of the ultimate effectiveness of those mechanisms are difficult to come by, particularly since they depend upon such abstruse items as Federal Housing policy, its New York City application, and the future activity of developers within the Clinton special district. However, if applied diligently, these programs should result in a sub-



The 6 story housing prototype offers apartment types, low scale, and construction costs more appropriate for Clinton than conventional High Rise Buildings.



stantial upgrading of almost half of Clinton's marginal housing within a 10 year period. To accomplish this, however, all three programs must be pursued with equal vigor. Although they have been delineated in this report as parts of an overall approach to Clinton's housing problem, fulfillment of one program does not lessen the importance of the others. Section 23 leasing is a Federal effort to subsidize low and moderate income housing, it is simply channeled through City housing agencies. The Municipal Loan coupled with capital write-down is part of the City's commitment to its Neighborhood Preservation program in Clinton. The improvements contributed by developers in return for floor area bonuses are intended to mitigate the effects of new development on the surrounding low income community. Each of these programs is independent as far as commitment of resources is concerned, but should be coordinated in actual implementation under the Clinton Special Purpose District. In fact, a combination of subsidies might be used within the same rehabilitation project if an imaginative and economically sound proposal were developed along those lines.

In general, each of the programs is most appropriate for a slightly different physical and fiscal situation. Section 23 leasing can cover the costs of rehabilitation and still afford a private owner a reasonable return on his/her investment. It can also be used for low income cooperatives. The Housing Authority which will probably administer this program should be encouraged to grant Section 23 funds to responsible owners or tenant groups who will conscientiously maintain and operate the property after any necessary rehabilitation is performed. Rehabilitation efforts should be centered around the mid-40's between 9th and 10th Avenues, but even in other parts of Clinton, clusters of blockfronts of buildings are preferable to individual buildings. Leases would be for a minimum of 5 years, extendable to 20 years, giving added stability to these clusters or blockfronts.

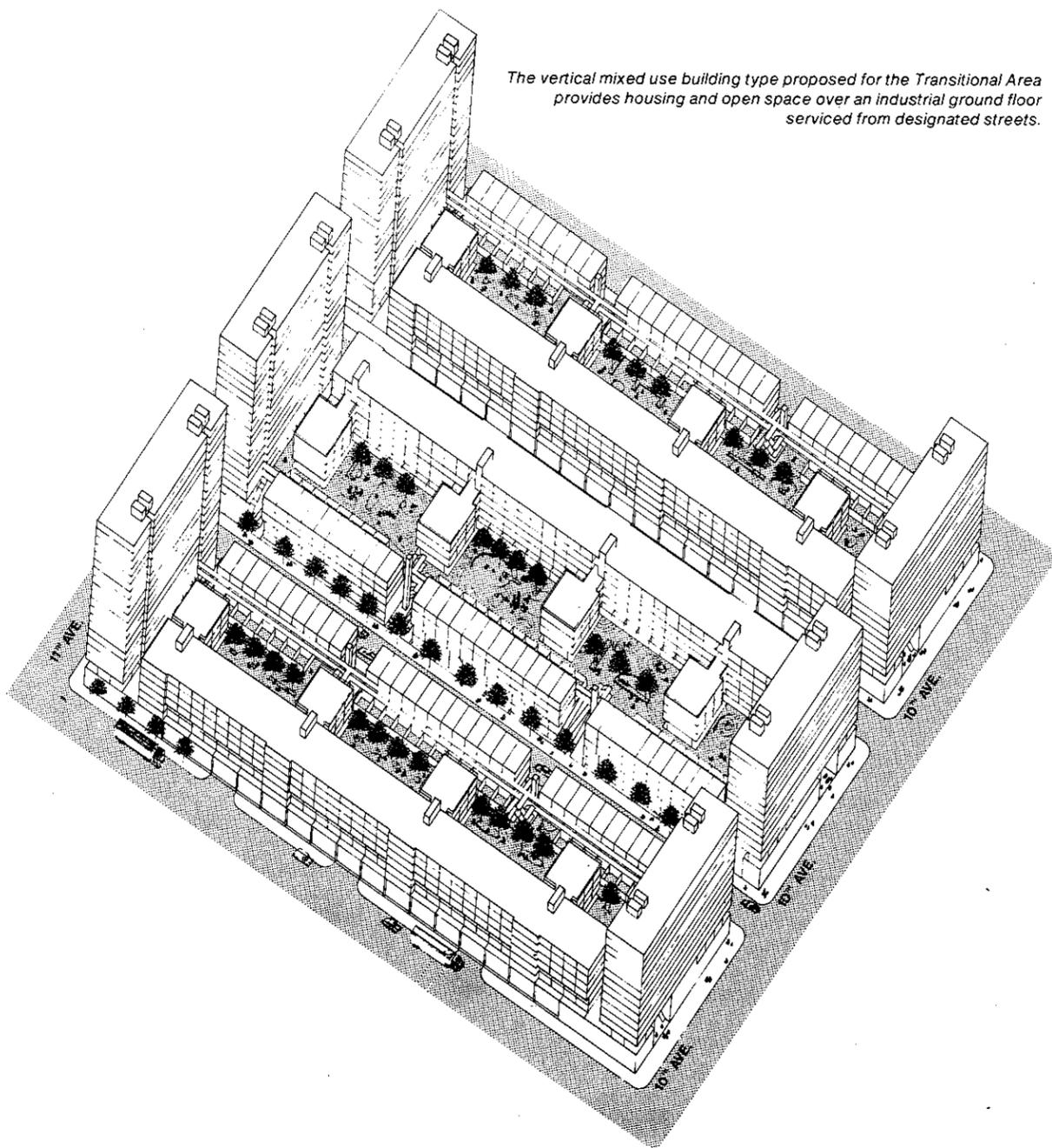
The combined Municipal Loan and capital write-down program should be used in instances where the inordinately high Assessed Values of the multiple dwellings make it impossible to keep rents after rehabilitation at an affordable level for Clinton residents through the use of a simple Municipal Loan without additional subsidy. These are often cases where the owner, for a variety of reasons, has failed to adequately maintain the property. Therefore, the capital write down in such a case should serve as the vehicle for transfer of ownership to a tenant group or local housing management corporation under whose auspices the rents would be controlled within the Municipal Loan guidelines.

Likewise, in the case of special district community improvements, it would be appropriate to turn over the improved property to a cooperative or local housing company, who would thereafter be responsible for its maintenance and operation. They would gradually underwrite the cost of subsequent community improvements through rents which again would be controlled and paid into a Clinton revolving fund. In this manner, the benefit of the developer's improvement to the community is regenerated throughout the community.

Speculative assemblage destructive

As implied and stated earlier in this report, one of the major problems in Clinton, and particularly in Clinton's housing stock, is real estate speculation. Over 34% of the land area of Clinton has been identified as "assembled"; i.e., aggregated under common ownership, usually for the ultimate purpose of resale and/or redevelopment. Ten private concerns own 20% of the land in Clinton, none of these is based in Clinton.

As Tables 12 and 13 indicate, the rate of land assembly in Midtown Manhattan has been carried on at a very brisk pace for the past decade or so. Between 1950 and 1959, the number of square feet of land area acquired by major property owners amounted to 28,000 on an average annual basis. For the 1960-63 period the comparable figure was close to 90,000 square feet, and in the subsequent years to 1970 it never went below 123,000 (1964) and in one year rose to 396,000 (1970). Activity in 1971, though was well below that for any individual year since 1960. The year 1972, however, marked a return to those earlier boom conditions. One possible indicator of recent changes in the rate of activity is furnished by the number of real property transfers in the geographical area bounded by 40th and 59th Streets and Eighth and Twelfth Avenues. An analysis of data supplied by the Office of Midtown Planning and Development (OMPD) indicates that between 1972 and 1973 there was a definite increase in the number of transactions in this area. There were 45 transfers in 1972 and, through December 31st of 1973, there were 51. In view of the considerable softening that has taken place in the demand for office space in Midtown Manhattan in



the last few years the ability of the land market to sustain itself as well as it has indicates that there is still a surprising amount of strength in the demand for Midtown sites. Taken by itself, this lends credence to the assumption that assemblers and, ultimately, developers continue to be reasonably optimistic about the future of Midtown, either for office development or, probabl, more immediately, for luxury apartment house development.

While this may, in some sense, be beneficial to investors in real estate, it has proved to be quite detrimental to the functioning of the Clinton area as a residential community. Because the assemblers or speculators own many residential properties and, in

most cases, are not oriented to managing residential buildings, the level of maintenance and service rendered by them to their tenants is distressingly low. This is the most charitable interpretation of the situation.

The high correlations between assembled properties and building code violations and between assembled properties and vacancies tends to support a more cynical view. That is, it appears that assemblers as a group are disinterested in their holdings, anticipating relatively quick resale. Furthermore, in order to increase the value of their property, they encourage their tenants to leave by legal, and sometimes extra-legal, acts of harrassment. The increased value of a vacant building is reflected in the sale price a prospective developer is willing to pay. Even more dramatic is the increase in market value when the old residential building is not only vacated, but demolished before resale.

Ban on demolitions

In order to discourage this destructive chain of events, we have proposed new zoning restrictions that will lessen the attractiveness of the residential area of Clinton as a speculative real estate arena. However, until this is shown to effectively curb the abuses of speculators, the responsible City agencies (HDA and CPC) should institute a ban on the demolition of sound housing, particularly low income housing which is at a premium in New York City.

Tax abatement and code enforcement

In keeping with the stated purposes of the Clinton Special District, the HDA should adopt an administrative policy of awarding Municipal Tax abatement to those property owners whose rehab rent levels and previous maintenance procedures contribute to the overall preservation effort in Clinton. Conversely, tax abatement should not be granted to luxury rehab projects. In addition, the HDA should redouble its efforts toward enforcement of the Building Code, particularly through its Neighborhood Preservation office. A duly empowered local staff of inspectors and clerks could significantly reduce the long delays encountered in channelling local complaints through the central office. If the enforcement program is slow and cumbersome and understaffed, there is little incentive for an owner, who is initially indisposed toward maintaining his buildings, to do anything but allow violations to pile up and let the City perform Emergency Repair work if necessary, the invoices for which he will simply ignore.

TABLE 12
Purchases by Current Major Property Owners in the CSA by Time Period

Year	Number Square Feet Acquired* (000)	Number of Purchases	Square Feet per Purchase
Prior to 1950	544	44	12,400
1950-1959	277	45	6,200
1960-1963	347	63	5,500
1964	123	30	4,100
1965	169	18	9,400
1966	181	34	5,300
1967	296	56	5,300
1968	175	56	3,100
1969	183	59	3,100
1970	396	71	5,600
1971	76	24	3,200
1972	250	48	5,200

* Refers to land area of site.

TABLE 13
Current Holdings by Type of Property of Major Owners* in the CSA, in Thousands of Square Feet of Land Area

Name of Owner	Total	Commercial (000 of Square Feet)	Residential
Fine	269	57	212
Appleby	455	455	—
Maidman	191	191	—
Durst	155	86	69
Mid-Century	129	5	124
J. Schwartz	52	26	26
Damascus	58	—	58
Dansker	118	—	118
Rose	50	10	40
Berger	77	70	7
Reicher	63	63	—
Steinberg	86	20	66
Schnurmacher	119	119	—
New York Telephone	143	137	6
Total	1965	1239	726

* Owning 50,000 square feet or more.

Low income home ownership

This type of irresponsible ownership and management of residential properties is not conducive to the preservation of a stable community. A further recommendation in the housing field is that the City, through its HDA, encourage owner occupancy of housing in Clinton.

There has been a good deal of comment to the effect that many of Clinton's problems have been caused by absentee ownership and, more particularly, by the kind of absentee ownership that is associated with site assembly operations for purposes of redevelopment. Much of the property in Clinton is undoubtedly owned by absentee landlords and this has probably been true throughout its recent history. Of the 820 residential structures in the CSA - excluding those in census tract 139 - only 11 are one and two family dwellings, usually thought of as the province of owner-occupiers. According to the Census Bureau, there are another 110 households living in Clinton who occupy units in multifamily structures owned by them. Thus, a rough but reasonable guess would be that from ten to fifteen percent of the walkup structures in the CSA are in the hands of landlords who actually live in one of their buildings. This is a far higher proportion than in the case of rental buildings in New York City as a whole. It is difficult however to assess the policy implications, if any, of the presence of such a relatively large group of non-absentee landlords within the CSA. Usually it is thought that the presence of a numerous group in this category provides a neighborhood with an element of stability. This is because owner-occupiers, even in cases of income properties, are presumed to have a greater interest in maintaining properties in which they also happen to live. And this indeed may be the case. However, it is not at all clear as to how receptive such a group might be to participating in a program that calls for them to undertake extensive rehabilitation efforts even under very favorable financing or refinancing terms. Such owner-occupiers in Clinton are likely to be typically small property owners who are in most cases singularly ill-equipped to deal with municipal agencies in furtherance of a rehabilitation program. Moreover, a very high proportion of these owner-occupants are probably getting on in years. When their properties are ultimately taken over by their estates or by their heirs, the connection between ownership and residency is likely to be broken off completely. And it must be recognized that these successor owners are likely to have a very feeble interest in continuing to own and maintain even rehabilitated properties in areas like the CSA.

We do not feel that it is necessary to dwell at great length on the relative merits of owner-occupancy and its almost universally recognized contribution to a community's social and economic stability. Specifically, a policy of facilitating low income cooperative home ownership should be implemented under the aegis of HDA's Neighborhood Preservation Office for Clinton.

Tenant education

A good first step toward the formation of a viable tenant group capable of taking cooperative ownership of a building is to provide an effective tenant education program. An effective program would not simply instruct the tenant in home economics or fire safety, but would include instruction on tenants rights and responsibilities, alternate forms of ownership, financing of housing, available programs, and funding for low and moderate income cooperative ownership, etc.

In the long run, the development of a solid base of resident owners or cooperators in Clinton is probably as important as any housing strategy we have to offer.

In the short run, however, no matter who owns Clinton's Old Law tenements, they are in need of rehabilitation. This brings us to consider the physical limitations and potential for housing in Clinton. Housing is the most important issue in Clinton - not only for the existing and future residents, but the City and private developers involved in the area. The quality and type of housing produced in Clinton will establish an identity for the area that will outlive any of the people taking part in determining what form that housing finally takes. Most existing residential structures in Clinton are over 75 years old. In St. Louis, recently, a public housing project was demolished by H.U.D. The project, built in 1955, had literally been ruined by its tenants, who comprised, in this case, a community of about 8,000. The "blame" has been distributed in varying degrees social conditions, design, planning, operating, and financing. However, everyone lost.

The housing proposals put forward here include the most common type of development in New York and some new types. In each case we have tried to find an approach which includes economic, technical, and social considerations that relate to each area in which they are proposed.

Housing in the Preservation Area (43rd - 56th Streets, 8th - 10th Avenues)

The technology which produced the Old Law tenement made no pretensions about addressing social issues. The crude, walk-up building offering limited light and sanitation facilities was essentially an economic response to housing needs - getting the most people into a building within the existing technology. However, that technology had not become so remote from the users as ours has today. While our technological feats, in space, for example, are incredible, they bear only indirectly on our daily lives. We know how to build very tall buildings with the accompanying systems for health and sanitation. We have not, however, been able to produce a sense of community well being or safety for a large portion of the population.

High rise vs. low rise

Clinton's residents, like many people in our City, make up a "street oriented" community. A community which shops, goes to school, plays and goes to church in the neighborhood. Unlike their Manhattan neighbors whose children attend schools outside the immediate area, who spend weekends and summers away, Clinton is more internally oriented. This is a function of economics and culture which does not exclude more affluent, mobile people from such a life style, but does limit the appropriate housing design for such groups. The five story walk-up is a "street oriented" building. It is in scale with the street and provides for the close, identifiable relationship among street (neighborhood), occupant, and neighbor. This relationship, documented by recent studies on high rise vs. low rise public housing statistics, offers a sense of community and security, lacking in most of our new housing.

It is not impossible to produce this in high rise housing (we speculate; so little has been tried, it's difficult to measure accurately). Architects have for many years been proposing schemes which provide shopping, play space, and community amenities on upper floors of high rise buildings which would replace the "street." Replacing the "street" is expensive, particularly if the implications are that it has to be done frequently throughout the building, and so it has not been done. Subsidized housing financing won't pay for it and "luxury" housing occupants don't require the same response, although, income and culture may not be as important to a four year old "stuck" on the 20th floor, as they are to his parents.

Recent dissatisfaction among many community groups with high rise apartment buildings is generated by broader design issues as well, including the inherent quality of high rise buildings which denies the familiar sense of continuity offered by low rise, continuous forms. New York is fast becoming a place of individual towers which are not only disassociated in form from the neighborhood, but lack the ability to provide adequate ground floor shops a neighborhood requires. The provision of plazas in place of the grocer, druggist, cleaner, etc., may not be an appropriate trade off, and has already been abandoned on Fifth Avenue for these and other reasons.

Both new construction and rehabilitation offer possibilities for responding to the argument developed above. The Old Law tenement can be altered to provide better and larger apartments than the original designs intended. The analysis of rehab economics shown earlier makes it an appropriate response for improving housing in Clinton. The comparatively large amount of vacant land here offers a potential for new housing which is responsive to all the internal and external design determinants discussed. The question of costs is the final determinant.

Low rise more economical

The current cost of a typical high rise apartment is about \$33,000. We are proposing a 6 story building for Clinton that can be built for about \$26,000 per apartment. High rise construction techniques, requirements to meet the building codes, and high speed elevators necessitate a more expensive building than low rise construction. High rise buildings are built for a variety of reasons, however, including the view of some developers that the more apartments, the more profit. (Certainly, where high land costs are involved, this is true. In subsidized housing, land is bought by the City with funds from City and Federal sources and "sold back" to the developer at nominal costs. The cost of land has no direct bearing on the feasibility of the project. It does influence the City's choice in project selection—the more the land costs, the fewer units per subsidy dollar are built). However, the reasons are essentially that development attitudes—private or public—are influenced by numbers. The more apartments provided on a given site, the better. To a degree, this attitude is understandable; the lack of adequate housing gives rise to this type of thinking. Another reason is the parking requirements calling for parking spaces for every 100

units in R-7 areas, as an example. The cars take up space, leaving little room for recreational open space, forcing the building to cover as little ground as possible in order to provide that space. An alternative is a covered parking garage which is expensive and not possible within the budget of many projects. The reasons also include a reaction to the poor design qualities of tenement buildings and the prejudices of certain builders and architects.

A prototype - fewer units lower costs

The building we are proposing takes these considerations into account. The rational of less units at a lower cost is appropriate for Clinton and offers a chance for housing in New York to take a new form (i.e., an old form) sympathetic to social and scale considerations described earlier. The savings in cost per unit of about \$7,000 should be considered in weighing the high land costs in Clinton.

The following cost estimate is based on such a low-rise prototype:

Assumptions:

- 6-story prototype
- new construction
- Mitchell-Lama Financing
- Redevelopment Company, Tax Abatement

Capital Costs:

Land: 4,000 sq. ft. @ \$30/sq. ft.	\$120,000
Construction: 16 d.u.'s @ \$26,000 per d.u.	\$416,000
Fees: 10% of construction costs	\$ 41,600
Total	\$577,600

Debt Service:

$$\frac{\$520,000 \times .0725}{12 \text{ mo.} \times 67 \text{ rooms}} = \$46.80/\text{rm./mo.}$$

Equity Return:

$$\frac{\$57,600 \times .08}{12 \text{ mos.} \times 67 \text{ rooms}} = \$5.75/\text{rm./mo.}$$

Maintenance:

\$15.00/rm./mo.

Taxes:

10% of Shelter Rent \$7.50/rm./mo.

Total:

\$75.05/rm./mo.

Although this rental, \$75.05 per room per month, is beyond the means of most residents of Clinton, it is significantly lower than typical high rise Mitchell-Lama housing which, judging by recent developments, rents for about \$110 per room per month. Any new construction or rehabilitation will require subsidies to meet the needs of Clinton residents.

Although Clinton's land may cost more per square foot (perhaps as much as \$15 more per square foot than other housing sites), the saving of \$7,000 per apartment would more than offset this cost. The economics of building taller, more expensive buildings on cheaper land may be illusory.

The 6-story prototype is an updated version of the venerable apartment houses which dominate much of Queens and the Bronx. It includes special considerations for the large family and elderly, in addition to typical resident needs. Unlike the earlier 6 story counterpart, this design covers less area, providing open space for tenant or public use. In keeping with the goals for traffic and land use, no parking area will be required. The number of zoning rooms produced is about 650 rooms per acre, the equivalent of R-7 density. Depending on apartment distribution, this would mean about 120 units (average, 2 bedroom apartment) per acre. These totals are high enough to be within reason for subsidized housing production. Projects are built in New York City at R-7 densities. For unsubsidized housing these parameters would necessarily have to be reformulated.

Specifically, the prototype provides for large families to be housed in duplex apartments with direct access from the street and to private outdoor areas in the rear. Elderly residents will have apartments served by elevators with their own indoor and outdoor spaces for socializing. In addition, the elderly will have visual contact to the street or rear yard. Small families will be housed in duplexes and flats, as will one and two person households, all served by elevator. This building type has some of the efficiencies of an elevator building with the advantages of the "brownstone" or more private dwellings of New York City. The vacant land in the Preservation Area could support, immediately, about 750 units of such housing. As new construction is built, the worst housing (beyond repair) could be replaced with the relocation of tenants into the new housing. Another phase of similar construction could begin.

Housing in the Transitional Areas

(10th to 11th Avenues, 43rd to 56th Streets)

The purpose of this design solution is to offer a prototype which resolves the conflicts of land use in this area by providing for their coexistence in close proximity to one another. The delineation of this problem is meant to provide direction for future development, based on the information available. As the proposed mixed use zoning allows for flexible responses, so does this building type. This is not an attempt to promote housing in the area, but a recognition of prevailing trends which will give direction to future development, if the projections derived from the trends are accurate. Should the projections for the decline of manufacturing uses not materialize, the measures we have recommended for support of existing uses would be in force and mixed use development would not take place.

Mixed-use model

The prototype locates high rise housing on 10th and 11th Avenues, with lower scaled housing on the east-west streets. The low rise housing is built on a platform which is the roof of a one story manufacturing space that provides the open space for all the housing. The access to the manufacturing space would be from designated streets which are "hard" manufacturing locations or could be so designated as the situation evolves. The basis for development is generated by the concept of a Planned Unit Development. The developer is given the right to build housing as described to the equivalent density of R-8 (910 rooms per acre, about 260 1 bedroom units per acre) for the entire block, if he builds the 1 story manufacturing space. The portion of the block zoned for manufacturing is included in this calculation. The developer is encouraged by this approach to develop land comprehensively in large areas and to provide for mixed use in a form which mitigates the conflict between manufacturing and housing. The scheme provides for a limited amount of manufacturing space under the assumption that while such uses are diminishing, there will be some need in midtown for such space, and higher rents for that space will be forthcoming. The tenants would include printing, auto servicing, film processing, and studio space. The one story industrial loft is relatively simple to construct, except for the roof deck which would be built for landscaping and recreation. The space provides a large area serviced at grade by truck; an economical arrangement for the uses described.

Economic feasibility

The additional costs of building such a scheme are offset by the opportunity afforded to the developer to build more housing (still not exceeding a density of R8) along with a "break-even" situation on the manufacturing space.

Like most projects involving new construction in New York City, a vertical mixed use development in Clinton would require public assistance in the form of subsidy and/or tax abatement in order to produce space at reasonable rent levels. This is particularly true of the industrial portion of the development. The following financial estimate is offered as the possible product of private and public cooperation in the development of combined housing and industrial space.

Development Assumptions:

Site: 200' x 200'
 Industrial Space: 1 story (40,000 sq. ft.)
 Housing Density: R8 (900 rooms/acre)
 Land Cost: \$40.00/sq. ft.
 Building Cost: Industrial - \$20.00/sq. ft.
 Platform - \$15.00/sq. ft.
 Housing - \$34.00/sq. ft.

Development Cost:

Land (40,000 sq. ft. at \$40/sq. ft.)	\$1,600,000
Industrial Space (40,000 sq. ft. at \$20/sq. ft.)	\$800,000
Platform (60% x 40,000 sq. ft. at \$15/sq. ft.)	\$ 360,000
Housing (6 FAR x 40,000 sq. ft. at \$34/sq. ft.)	\$8,150,000
Total Cost	\$10,910,000

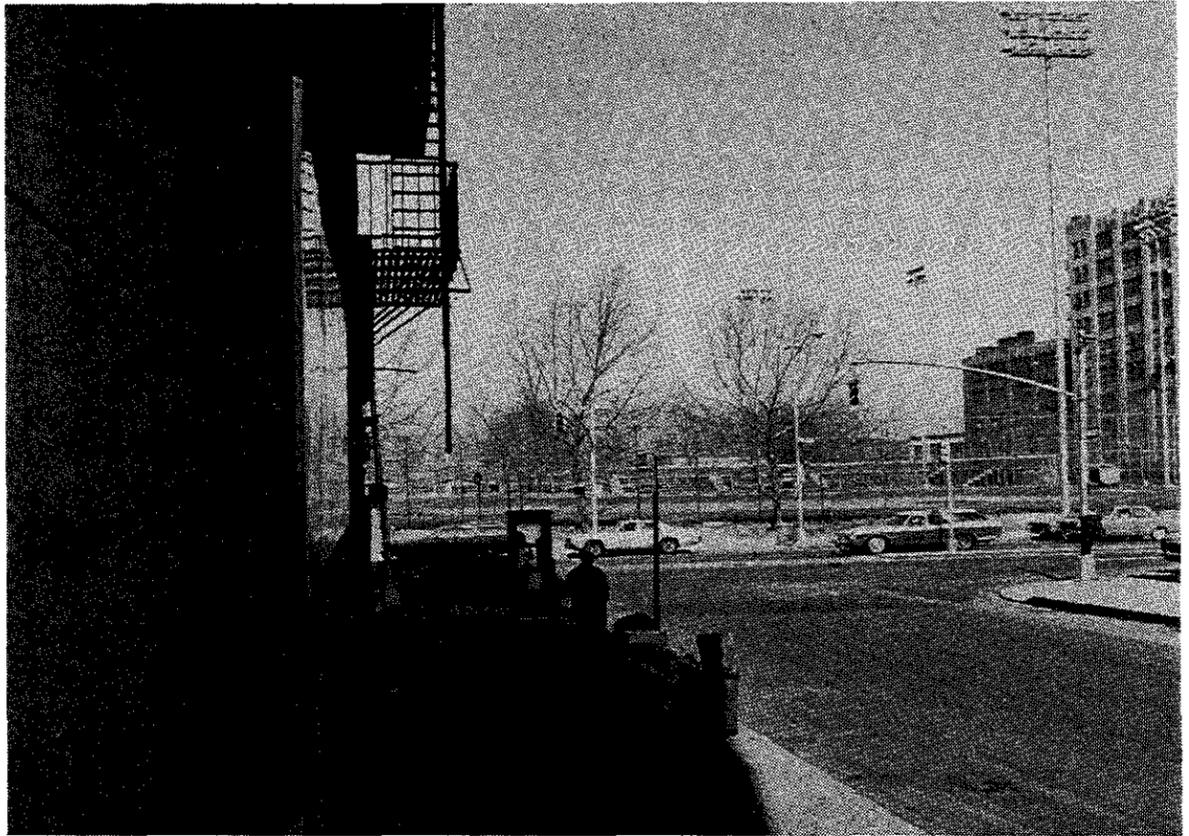
Operating Assumptions:

Mitchell-Lama mortgage (90% of housing cost)
 Small Business Administration and Job Development Loans (80% of industrial cost)
 N.Y.C. Tax Abatement (10% of shelter rent)

Operating Costs (Rents)

Equity Return:
 $(\$800,000 \times 2 \times 12) + (\$10,110,000 \times 1 \times 12)$
 (280,000 sq. ft.) **\$.50**

Debt Service:



\$800,000 x .625 x .0745 : 280,000 =	\$0.13
\$800,000 x .175 x .0820 : 280,000 =	\$0.14
\$10,110,000 x .9 x .0725 : 280,000 =	\$2.35
	\$2.52
Maintenance:	
\$0.68 per square foot	\$.68
Taxes:	
10% of shelter rent	\$.41
Total Rent (per square foot per year)	\$4.11

This implies a residential rent of \$90.40 per room per month. Additionally, residential rent rents may be further skewed to make industrial rents more attractive to local firms, for whom \$4.11 per sq. ft. is probably a maximum feasible annual rent.

Housing in the Perimeter Area (42nd and 57th Streets, 8th Avenue)

This area will be developed as housing or office space, subject to similar zoning requirements of high density areas with certain additional design controls. The housing would be "market rent" (luxury) housing at maximum densities (including 20% bonus) and bulk equivalent to an FAR of 12. The plaza and arcade bonuses are not available to the developer. In place of the plaza or arcade, the developer may elect to perform certain improvements directly related to the planning goals for Clinton. The performance would be calculated on the basis of how much FAR the builder elects to take, not exceeding 2 in any case. Each FAR has been calculated to be worth about \$6 to \$8 per square foot of FAR depending upon location. The value of the improvement would be determined by the administrators of the Special Zoning District. The eligible improvements include those outlined in the zoning section of this report.

The design controls for building in the perimeter would establish a uniform building setback along 8th Avenue. Further, it would provide for a transition from the low rise Preservation Area to the high rise perimeter by using at grade open space or a 6 story building which provides for a public arcade through the block with roof garden open space in place of the required open space. The 6 story buildings relate in scale to the interior blocks and allow the developer to provide more rentable ground floor commercial—not additional building area.

Community Facilities

In light of the projected increase in Clinton's population over the next 10 years, it is important that Clinton's community facilities be evaluated not in terms of a present day Clinton population of 34,000, but in terms of a 1985 population of close to 55,000.

Schools will almost certainly be overtaxed by the increase of almost 1,500 school age children expected within the general population by 1985. This is particularly true of the elementary schools which are presently quite near their capacity. Unless adjacent neighborhoods experience a decline in enrollment sufficient to absorb Clinton's increase, a new elementary school should be considered. Fortunately, the present circumstances may allow a timely

response to this problem. Since P.S. 51 is to be rebuilt on the same block as the old P.S. 51, Clinton is assured of a new school. However, unless its capacity is increased to accommodate new students, it may be overcrowded by the time it opens.

The Urban Renewal area, which will house many of the new families coming into Clinton, will also contain its own High School. Park West High School will be a partly vocational and partly academic high school serving the Clinton community. Its capacity of 3,000 should certainly be adequate for any increase in Clinton's share of the enrollment.

Meanwhile the City has already expended sums of \$1 million and \$2.25 million for renovations to Haaren High School and P.S. 58 respectively. Unfortunately, this will be of minimal benefit to the Clinton community since few of the students in these schools are Clinton residents.

Hospitals will continue to provide general short stay beds and outpatient services in spite of the persistent reports of the imminent closing of *Polyclinic's* facilities. The presence of three major hospitals should not be construed as a guarantee of good health care for the surrounding community. Not only do these hospitals serve a much larger area than Clinton, but more importantly, the range and delivery of services may not be addressing the community's needs.

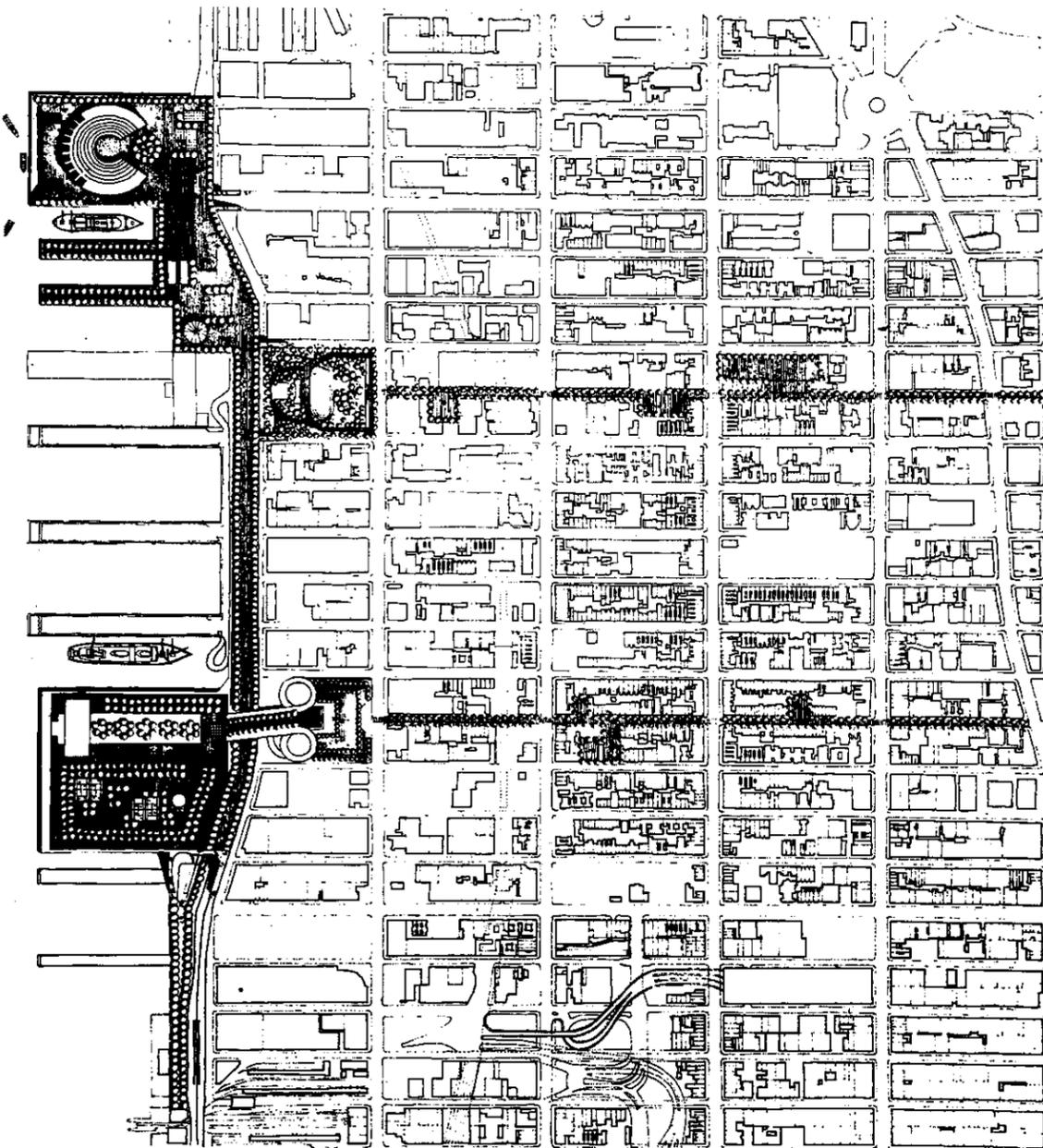
However, there seem to be no major complaints about the hospital services. Two of the three are centrally located within the community and are quite accessible by mass transit. Furthermore, the hospitals provide valuable emergency and outpatient care. For every general care bed in *Polyclinic*, *St. Clare's*, and *Roosevelt* Hospitals, they receive close to 115 emergency room calls and 70 outpatient visits.

The projected increases in population should not necessitate any expansion of the existing hospitals in Clinton. There will still be sufficient beds in 1985. However, the increase in population does raise the possibility that new ambulatory clinics might be required to avoid over burdening the hospitals with minor or routine health care problems. Therefore, any expansion plans for health facilities in the Clinton area should be viewed in light of these local requirements.

Within the category of health care facilities, one might also consider drug related operations. Clinton currently has 9 functioning centers for treatment and/or counseling of drug users. Of these, 4 are methadone maintenance centers. This is far in excess of what Clinton needs for its resident addict population. Before any additional drug treatment facilities are permitted in Clinton, a clear need should be established for it by its sponsors. As in several other types of service facilities, Clinton seems to be carrying more than its fair share of a city-wide burden.

Open Space

Outdoor recreation space should not be a problem in Clinton. A map of the area reveals an unusual amount of vacant land and adjacency to the waterfront. This, however, is a distorted picture of available open space for recreation. The only usable open space amounts to 8½ acres of park (including one promised



The Potential for a pedestrian and bike oriented network, eventually connecting to other midtown areas, offers exciting possibilities in Clinton.

for 47th Street and 10th Avenue) and 2½ acres of playgrounds (essentially school yards). A New York City Planning Commission study of 1968 attempted to quantify what recreational facilities would be necessary to bring the areas of the City up to the City-wide average. Clinton ranked among the "very low in existing facilities." The area would require at least 10 more acres of park space to reach parity with recognized standards for open space. By 1985, Clinton will probably need an additional 12 acres of parks and playgrounds to adequately serve its anticipated population.

The National Parks Association, Urban Land Institute, Regional Plan Association, etc., provide standards which would require even more space for recreation. Clinton Park is the only park and its location is remote to 90% of the area's residents. The lack of small tot lots, athletic fields, and sitting areas is especially crucial in a neighborhood surrounded by high density non-residential uses. The lack of open space in quantity and quality contributes, with traffic and housing, to accentuate the sense of harshness prevalent throughout the neighborhood.

Yet Clinton's location also has distinct advantages. It is near Central Park, but the physical relationship does not promote frequent use.

The park does serve Clinton, however, as a city-wide resource. The waterfront offers a major open space resource which is presently inaccessible and undeveloped. The current moratorium on destructive development activities offers an appropriate opportunity to plan for open space development, a crucial aspect to the viability of any neighborhood. The open space planning for Clinton provides for the different kinds of population projected for each area. The process considers existing conditions, proposed land use and the development process. As each block in Clinton is developed, the specific open space requirements must be determined, not only for that block, but in relation to the entire area's redevelopment.

In the Preservation Area, where most of the subsidized housing programs will be applied, we can expect a wide variety of population characteristics. These include the existing population which is predominantly small households, and an increase in the number of families with children. To a large extent, the number of specific family types will be influenced by housing program requirements - in New York City, one can expect to rent any decent housing which offers low rents.

The groups which require immediate access to recreation space are the elderly and young children requiring supervision. Therefore, these uses should be provided within short distances from dwelling units.

(We are considering only "public" open space here, not private yards or balconies which are considered in housing.) Each street in Clinton should offer the elderly of the adjoining blocks a gathering place which is protected from traffic influences and provides shade, sun, games and view to some active areas - possibly shopping or children's play. Each street should provide a play area for young children, which is also separated from traffic, offering sun, shade, water and games with provision for sitting areas and comfort stations. The size of these facilities would vary, but a guide for planning would be 25 square feet per elderly resident, 50 square feet per pre-school child, and the facility should be located on the side of the street that has best access to sun.

The second group to consider is the young school age children who can play independently but don't want to be or aren't permitted to go too far. Their activities are similar but more expansive than those for young children, requiring about 75 square feet per child. This play space could be part of the same facility serving younger children, and should be provided within a few minutes walk of their homes - about every other block.

As children grow older, their need for space increases and in Clinton this is critical. The streets are not appropriate for stickball or touch football. School age children need athletic fields which do not have to be outside their door, but should clearly be part of the neighborhood to insure utilization. The existing school yards are not adequate, but proposed new schools could help provide this space. The existing and new schools project a population of 5,500 children between the ages of 9 and 17. They would require at least 7 acres of athletic fields or playground space which could be used for sports. Only about 3 acres will be provided by the existing and proposed facilities.

A technique which could produce more usable open space is one which deals with the existing back yards of many buildings in Clinton. The areas are limited but could provide uses such as sitting, tot play, and tree planting. Owners of Old Law Tenements seldom improve the space on an individual building basis. The reasons include money, but also the small size and lack of access are important reasons. The technique would be to lease the use of yards from a number of contiguous buildings for a specified period of time for \$1 per year. In return, the back yards would be developed for recreational uses by the city or private funds. Those buildings adjoining new development or part of a rehab project would be likely candidates for open space development. The upgrading of back yards, if applied to each block could raise the level of quality in Clinton's open space

(presently unused and offensive in many cases) for a relatively small investment.

The remainder of needed open space will be difficult to develop because of the large areas requiring land acquisition at high costs. One opportunity for such a space would be provided if the bus garage at 54th Street was relocated out of the Preservation Area to the manufacturing area between 11th Avenue and 12th Avenue. The community will have to weigh the need for more space like this against housing needs and city resources as the area develops.

The funds for providing recreation space are not unlike funds for housing, transportation and welfare - they are not adequate. The development of open space, wherever possible, should be provided as part of other development - namely housing, schools and public facilities. Each new housing project should be designed to meet the small scale (elderly and young children) needs of the tenants and the existing block. The large scale improvements will have to be developed by the city or in return for bonuses in the Perimeter Area.

Perimeter Area

The need for recreational space in this area will be considerably less than in other parts of Clinton. This is because development will be mixed - commercial and residential. Further, the projections for children in market rent housing are low, based on the type of units developers are building. The cost of housing is so high that fewer families can afford to live in the heart of Manhattan. Therefore, we can look to the individual development to provide the immediate open space needs for the elderly and youngest children. The adjacency of the Perimeter Area, however, to the Preservation Area is such that much of the recreation space provided in the Preservation Area can offer use to residents living on the "edges" of Clinton.

Transitional Area

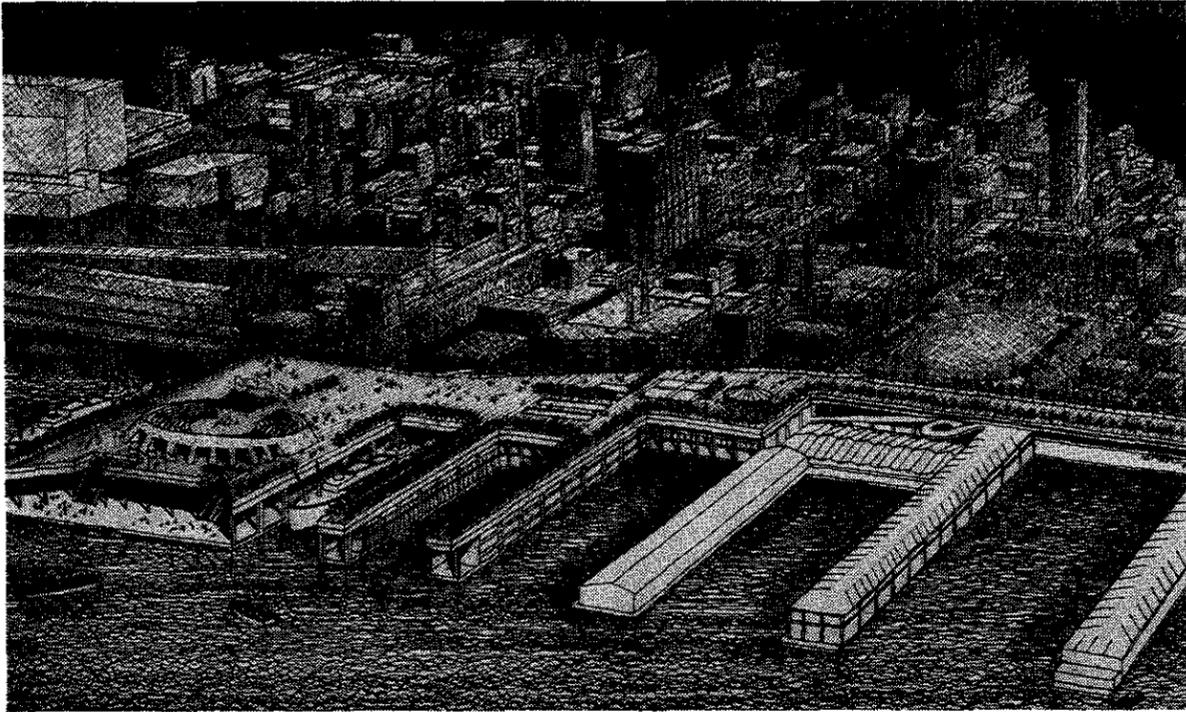
As described earlier in the report this area is the most difficult to make predictions about and therefore determining specific needs is impossible. The type of development we have recommended provides for considerable open space which would serve the residents of the surrounding housing to varying degrees, but certainly provide the more immediate needs of the elderly and children. As the Clinton Urban Renewal Area develops and if the Transitional Area produces new housing, the open space demands in Clinton will increase considerably. The need for athletic fields, a community park and other facilities must be recognized early enough to make appropriate decisions for future needs. For example, if the area develops early for residential uses, the expansion of Clinton Park may be appropriate. If the manufacturing uses remain, a better use of funds would be elsewhere.

Open Space Network

An important consideration in addition to the needs of specific groups is the general quality of the street which provides functional connections, visual continuity, and a strong overall sense of a neighborhood for residents and users. This issue is very much influenced by traffic conditions, however improvements for the pedestrian can be pursued simultaneously. It is particularly important in Clinton, in fact, where reduction of the effects of vehicles through sound absorption, visual softening and separation from vehicles could greatly improve the environment. Clinton warrants particular attention in this regard due to its unique location which acts as a connector between midtown and the Convention and Exhibition Center and Passenger Liner Terminal. Improved pedestrian access, or pedestrian oriented connections which provide an experience beyond the functional aspects could serve to reduce the reliance on taxis and improve conditions for the local community. Once more, it is an attitude which must be changed, before design solutions will be considered seriously.

Much of the work that needs to be done is relatively simple, and could be started immediately; improvements could become more sophisticated as opportunities arise. The first step is to upgrade typical streets through an intensive tree planting program - not token trees—but good specimens planted at close intervals with proper protection. (Details will be identified in the Special District Zoning.) New development will be required to provide this planting, but the city must take on the major responsibility for the neighborhood. Trees absorb sound, provide shade, contrast the harshness of the area and strengthen the visual continuity of the city.

As elements of the plan for traffic control are implemented, sidewalk widening, street furniture and signage could upgrade the area considerably, and therefore the image of New York City through the eyes of visitors traversing Clinton. Two streets offer particular possibilities in this regard - 46th and 53rd. The restaurants along 46th Street leading to the



The Waterfront area north of the passenger liner terminal should also be renovated for increased shipping activities. Recreational space could be provided by decking over the new piers. Right: The remainder of the Convention Exhibition Center site should be developed as public open space; providing pedestrian access to the roof and screening of the vehicular ramps as well as commercial space.

pedestrian entrance to the Convention Exhibition Center have already been recognized as "Restaurant Row" by the city. Clinton Park is approached from 53rd Street which, across from the Urban Renewal Area, connects to the Museum of Modern Art and an area of the city which attracts visitors from all over the world. Both these streets should eventually have all vehicular traffic removed, and be developed as streets which could be symbolic of the best efforts of urban design serving the residents and city at large. Furthermore, this would offer an improved economic climate for small shops and restaurants. In returning benefits such an investment would pay for itself. Temporary closings of these streets, already initiated, indicate the exciting possibilities.

The following recommendations should be considered as general guidelines which could improve the physical environment of Clinton. These guidelines should be integrated into new development and existing situations wherever possible - they are directed at improving the streets of Clinton which comprise the major public "places" in the neighborhood.

Roadways

1. Vary paving materials on specific streets designated for pedestrian uses.
2. Reduce parking on side streets to provide for an increase in pedestrian use.
3. Street lighting should meet minimum safety standards without use of non-color corrected mercury or sodium vapor lamps.
4. Locate and design bus stops in response to neighborhood needs.

Sidewalks

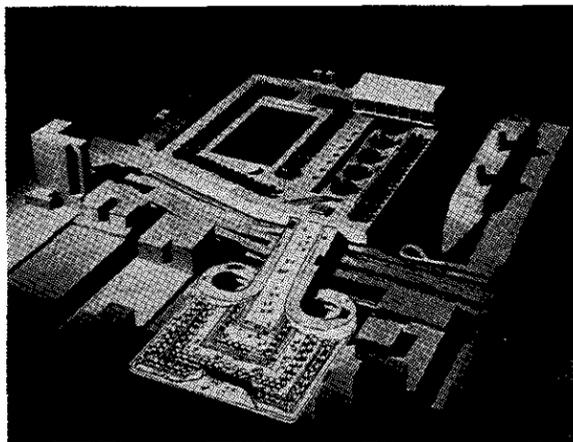
1. Minimum width should be 12 feet or wider, as related to pedestrian traffic.
2. Provide special paving materials to identify public places and activities.
3. Provide tree grates for proper watering and aeration.
4. Plant minimum 5" caliper trees 10 to 20 feet apart on sidewalks. Keep trees at least 3 feet from the inside of the curb. Provide double rows where sidewalks are 20 feet or greater.
5. Provide a comprehensive graphics program for size, location and style of all signage. Signage should be minimal, but offer adequate public information - day and night.
6. Wherever appropriate, provide seating, trash receptacles, pavement widening, etc. to increase pedestrian use. Integrate design of these amenities with signage and tree planting.
7. Provide seating, shade and weather protection at bus stops.

Bikeways

1. Where sidewalk width permits (possibly the avenues), provide separate marked strip of bituminous paving for bicycle circulation.
2. Where vehicular traffic can be accommodated, mark a minimum 8-foot wide strip for two-way bicycle traffic.
3. Provide permanent bicycle racks at sidewalk widenings, bus stops, public buildings and other appropriate places.

Pedestrian Ways

1. Provide all the amenities identified for



- sidewalks and bikeways.
2. Allow adequate width for service vehicles.
3. Provide for active and passive recreation, refreshment concessions, additional tree planting, where appropriate.

The Waterfront

The piers north of the Passenger Liner Terminal are currently used for Sanitation Department, barge loading, towed away car storage for the Police Department, and infrequent shipping activities. This area offers a unique opportunity for creating a facility which New York City has long needed, and from which the community could greatly benefit, a recreational space on the water. This should be developed at the terminus of a major crosstown street (57th) adjacent to the C.E.C. and P.L.T. with pedestrian access from Clinton Park. It must be developed, before it becomes something more private, less accessible, less beneficial to the entire city. The possibilities for associated commercial uses-shops, restaurants, theatre, are all there to make the recreational space a self-supporting facility.

The development would take the form of a deck over the existing piers which could be retained for possible shipping activities. The construction would be similar to the Passenger Liner Terminal: people would go on top, however, not cars. Access to the area for the community could be developed from Clinton Park over the West Side Highway, completing the 53rd Street link to Midtown and servicing Clinton en route. This area could be developed many ways, including possible boating and as a water based transportation terminal in the future.

The C.E.C. offers earlier possibilities for realizing waterfront open space use. The roof top park is yet to be designed and the access will be improved, according to Tom Galvin, former C.E.C. Executive Director. The access design is critical to community use and pedestrian access in general. This access should be available independent of internal building uses so it takes on a public character and is subject to the same influences on use as other public open space. The actual details of this access should promote pedestrian use by an exterior design which provides for gradual changes in level from the ground to the roof - via ramps and platforms.

The area adjacent to this pedestrian access should form an appropriate gathering place, completing, the future 46th Street pedestrian link and buffering the immediate environment from the effects of the vehicular access ramps. A well planned plaza would serve the C.E.C. and include community benefits as well. Further, a public plaza would serve to unify and promote the future and probable commercial development developed by the C.E.C.

The waterfront, streets, parks, and playgrounds of

Clinton will play a major role in the quality of the future physical environment of Clinton. Clinton's designation as a Neighborhood Preservation Area, hopefully will encourage attention to those aspects of open space which all the N.P.A. designated areas are concerned with. Clinton offers the City and development community a unique opportunity for imaginative growth which would not only benefit in social and aesthetic terms but in economic gain which seems to be the common denominator in this process.

The complexity of the waterfront area cannot be dealt with adequately in this study. A detailed proposal dealing with the future West Side Highway and the relationship of it to the recommendations made here, should be initiated. The waterfront, like office expansion, threatens Clinton. Comprehensive planning and design of recreation space could use the threat to the advantage of Clinton and the entire City including private developers.

Potential for Development

Demand for office space

Since World War II, Manhattan has experienced a boom of unprecedented proportions in the construction of commercial office space. From 1947 through 1973, 270 new office buildings, accounting for 135 million square feet of rentable area, were erected within the borough. During the 5-year period ending in 1973, 58 million square feet of new space came onto the market. This upsurge in construction in the last few years, together with the concurrent slowing down in the rate of growth in the borough's white collar employment, has resulted in a substantial overhang of unrented office space in the Manhattan Central Business District (CBD) and a decided softening in the prevailing space rents. The amount of new construction activity will undoubtedly be very modest until the current vacancy rate is substantially reduced. The rate of assembly of sites in anticipation of future commercial development may be even more depressed in view of the fact that a very large number of sites have already been put together and are awaiting redevelopment. One critical question is, when, in the future, will the rate of new office construction begin to quicken and how soon after it does will this be reflected in an increase in site assembly activity by or on behalf of developers. Moreover, when activity leading to or involving new construction begins to pick up once again within the CBD, there is the further question of where it will occur. The overall volume of new construction and the pattern of its preferred location within the CBD will determine the nature and extent of pressures for new construction and for additional assembly of sites in such sub-markets as the CSA. The CSA is still on the periphery of the mainstream of office development in Midtown Manhattan. The higher the rate of office construction in Manhattan in general and in Midtown Manhattan in particular, the greater will be the impact of this construction on areas like the CSA.

Predictions vary

The most authoritative forecasts of the demand for office space in Manhattan for the 1970-85 period are those which have been made by the Regional Plan Association, by the City Planning Department of New York City and by the Real Estate Research Corporation respectively. The forecasts made by RPA and the CPD assume that the demand for office space in Manhattan would require a net addition of approximately 80-105 million square feet to its existing inventory over the 1970-85 period. These projections were based on assumptions relating, to the growth of office employment in Manhattan to changes in the space requirements per worker, and to the replacement of existing space.

Office growth slow

Be that as it may, during the last few years there has been a decided slowdown in the rate of growth in office employment in Manhattan. From 1960-69 office employment in Manhattan expanded at a 3.5% average annual rate. Since 1969 the level of its office employment has remained virtually unchanged. An important part of the reason for this recent static trend is the effects on the City's economy of the national recession during 1969-70. However, the City's white collar economy, as reflected in changes in its employment level, has not responded very robustly to the recovery at the national level between 1970 and 1973. It seems as if there are forces at work of a deep rooted nature which will prevent the resumption of the growth in office employment in Manhattan at anything like the rate of increase that it experienced in the 1960s. That is to say, while Manhattan's office sector can expect further growth in the future both in terms of its space needs as well as in the growth in the size of its office cadre, it seems as if this growth will be at a considerably slower rate than that which occurred

during the 1960s.

However, the lowest of the CBD's range will amount to 80 million square feet, for an average annual growth in demand during this period of 5.3 million square feet of space. Using this projection, how much of it can be expected to locate in Midtown Manhattan? How much can be expected to go to the CSA? Based on recent trends, Midtown Manhattan can expect to obtain about 70% of the total expected increase in demand for office space throughout Manhattan. At this rate, the net additions over the 1970-85 period to Midtown Manhattan's inventory of commercial office space will amount to 55 million square feet, or about 3.5 to 4.0 million on an average annual basis. However, since 1970 the demand for new office space in Midtown Manhattan has only been growing at the rate of 3.1 million square feet per year. Midtown presently (that is, as of March 1974) has 6.7 million square feet of vacant available office space in buildings constructed since 1970. Furthermore, buildings scheduled to be placed on the market in 1974 and 1975 will add another 3.8 million square feet to the Midtown market. If the 3.1 million annual rate of absorption for newly built space in Midtown continues throughout the forecast period, it will mean that the space we presently anticipate being on the market by 1975 in addition to the existing vacant space in recently constructed buildings will not be absorbed until the latter part of the present decade.

Assembled office sites available

In ordinary circumstances the disappearance of this overhang would be the signal for the resumption of site assembly. However, there is also a considerable backlog of undeveloped assemblages. According to calculations made by the OMPD, if known assemblages were developed under their as-of-right zoning (that is, under allowable floor area ratios) close to 45 million square feet of office space would be added to Midtown existing space inventory. Moreover, this is a conservative figure for two reasons. One, it only takes into account assemblages of greater than 15,000 square feet. Secondly, it assumes that allowable floor area ratios under as-of-right zoning will not be liberally supplemented by variances. However, using this 45 million square foot figure in conjunction with a net growth of space demand in the Midtown area of 3.1 million square feet indicates that it will not be before the early part of the 1990s that existing assemblages will be developed (assuming that sites already assembled will be developed prior to any new assemblage efforts). If the growth in demand escalates to the forecast figure of 3.5 to 4.0 million pace, the removal of excess vacancies plus the development of known assemblages will only be completed in 1987.

Anticipated development within Clinton

What are the implications of the above line of reasoning for the CSA. It implies that at least for the next decade and a half and possibly longer, the demand for new office space within the CSA can probably be met within such prime locations as 42nd and 57th Streets and Eighth Avenue. The Real Estate Research Corporation in its 1971 study of the CSA expected that this area would under certain conditions attract from 30-40% of the total office market in Midtown over the 1970-85 period. Real Estate Research was using a forecast figure for the Midtown area of 5 million square feet per year and an 8 million figure for Manhattan as a whole. Thirty percent of our lower Midtown figure of 55 million would amount to 20 million square feet or about 1.5 million square feet annually.

The next question we have to consider is where would this new construction be located within the CSA. An analysis by the Office of Midtown Planning and Development indicated that under existing zoning - that is, under the zoning pattern prevailing prior to the enactment of the interim district zone - approximately 11 million square feet of space (office or residential) could be inserted on soft sites within the following locations inside the CSA: 42nd and 57th Streets and 8, 10 and 11th Avenues. Furthermore, if the soft sites were re-zoned to allow a FAR of 10, with a 20% bonus possible, this redevelopment potential would rise to approximately 25 million square feet.

As has already been noted, the most authoritative available forecasts of future activity indicate that there is likely to be an ultimate demand over the 1970-85 period for new commercial office space within the CSA of from 10 to 15 million square feet. Assuming this demand is all located within the locations referred to above, this would still leave 10-15 million square feet of potentially developable space that could be located in a similar fashion.

Outlook for new private housing construction

One major source of demand for development sites within the corridors is privately financed (or publicly assisted) multifamily housing. Over the next couple of decades Manhattan's housing market should con-

tinue to exert a strong attraction for higher income households. This attraction should be particularly strong in the cases of residential areas that are within easy commuting distance (if not actual walking distance) of Manhattan's Central Business District (generally speaking, that part of the borough which lies south of Central Park).

Clinton has participated in the growth of Manhattan's luxury rental market to a limited extent. Between 1960 and 1970 although over 2,300 low income units were destroyed, close to 1,500 new units were constructed within the CSA. However, two-thirds of these were built within census tract 139 and less than 500 were distributed among Clinton's other, lower-income census tracts. In addition, there was a moderate amount of conversion activity taking place within the CSA involving the upgrading of older units to more modern, but higher rental status. However, conversion activity along these lines was very limited. Altogether 300 units received this treatment during the decade of the 60's. Since 1970 another 130 units have been converted.

Potential for housing in Clinton

In its December 1970 market analysis of the CSA for the City Planning Department, Real Estate Research Corporation pointed out that there was a large backlog of demand for new housing in Manhattan at all rental and price levels and that this demand could be expected to continue to increase in the future. It was Real Estate Research's view at that time that the principal impediments to the creation of new private housing (including publicly assisted construction such as Mitchell-Lama) in Manhattan was presented by legislative restrictions on allowable rental income, limitations on density, and scarcity of adequate sites where housing, under these restrictions, could be profitably developed. Assuming that these factors are less important with respect to possible development within the CSA, Real Estate Research projected a demand for it of 6,568 new units over the 1971-85 forecast period. This averages out at an annual rate of about 470 units. The overall total included 4,104 private apartment units and 2,464

cooperative units. By itself this should not be considered an excessive amount of new construction for sub-market within the overall Manhattan luxury housing market area, particularly for an area that is so close to the major employment concentrations within the Manhattan Central Business District. The average annual rate of construction of privately sponsored and publicly assisted multiple family dwellings in Manhattan during the 1960's was close to 9,000 units. While a very high proportion of this new construction took place in the first half of the decade, in response to the change which took place in the city's zoning code at that time, the rental vacancy rate for new construction at the end of the decade was very low. Whether the 1960's rate of construction will be repeated in the 1970's is difficult to say at this point. There has been a slowdown in new construction during the last few years. However, if there is a resumption in the growth of office employment in Manhattan, along with an upgrading in the characteristics of the office work force, there should be a resumption in a demand that could sustain construction of the magnitude that took place during the preceding decade.

An infusion of over 6,000 units into the CSA (not to speak of possible new public housing units) would amount to about one-third of its existing number of housing units. It could however be easily accommodated in the soft sites along 42nd Street and 57th Street as well as on Eighth Avenue. At 1,200 square feet per housing unit, 6,600 housing units would involve close to 8 million square feet of built space. Thus, under the above assumptions the combined amount for new office and residential space over the 1970-85 period that would have to be accommodated physically within the development corridors could be in the 18-23 million square foot range.

Following the bonus system as proposed in this report, and using the estimated value at \$8 per square foot per FAR, the projections for development in these corridors imply a potential benefit of some \$30 million contributed in community improvements by developers by 1985.

Propuestas

LAS NUEVAS CLASIFICACIONES que se proponen para Clinton dentro del Distrito Especial de Preservación están diseñadas para remediar una situación presente y también para un futuro desarrollo, apoyando la preservación del centro residencial de Clinton al clasificar este sector de acuerdo con su estado actual. En esta clasificación se incluiría un sector de diversos usos entre las avenidas décimas y conceava, protegiendo así la manufactura y las viviendas que ahí existen. Esta propuesta también mantendría la zona industrial entre la avenida once y el muelle, reconociendo la necesidad de proteger los trabajos que ofrecen al vecindario. Por otro lado, la nueva clasificación permitiría construir en la octava avenida entre las calles 42 y 57. Este hecho permitiría dar primas a aquellas construcciones que incluyeran facilidades para el mejoramiento necesario de esta comunidad. Igualmente el desarrollo residencial en las zonas de diversos usos, solo sería permitido si va acompañado por nuevos espacios industriales. No habría tampoco ninguna demolición de viviendas sin permiso especial; el número de apartamentos por acre sería limitado y la mudanza de los inquilinos sería necesaria antes de cualquier nueva construcción. Si es posible el costo de las renovaciones sería igualado con subvenciones federales; el Clinton Fund dirigiría el sistema de distribución de las primas.

Ya que hay una investigación en progreso del **TRAFICO Y TRANSPORTE** de Clinton, nuestras recomendaciones son generalizadas en vez de presentar un plan detallado. Fundamente sugerimos que el movimiento del tráfico sea modificado de acuerdo con las características de la calle y no en forma contraria; es decir un tráfico mayor no debería permitirse en las calles angostas y de una densidad residencial baja; en vez de fomentar (como se hace hoy día) mas el tráfico y tener que ensanchar la calle. Además recomendamos un aumento y pequeñas modificaciones en las rutas de los buses y restricciones en los sitios de estacionamiento. Varias calles han sido diseñadas para demostrar estas ideas.

Considerando que la **ECONOMIA LOCAL** tiene varios puntos positivos hay algunas áreas en que la acción municipal sería necesaria, ya que existen demasiados negocios y viviendas desocupadas por esas personas que quieren capitalizar con el desarrollo de Clinton. Una declaración por parte del Municipio relacionada a las calificaciones propuestas y a la preservación del vecindario pondría a cabo esta forma de especulación comercial. La acción municipal también ayudaría a rebajar el alto nivel de desempleo al proveer rebajas de impuestos o préstamos a firmas que tengan programas de entrenamiento para los residentes de Clinton. Esta idea también podría ser

implementada a través de una Corporación Local de Desarrollo.

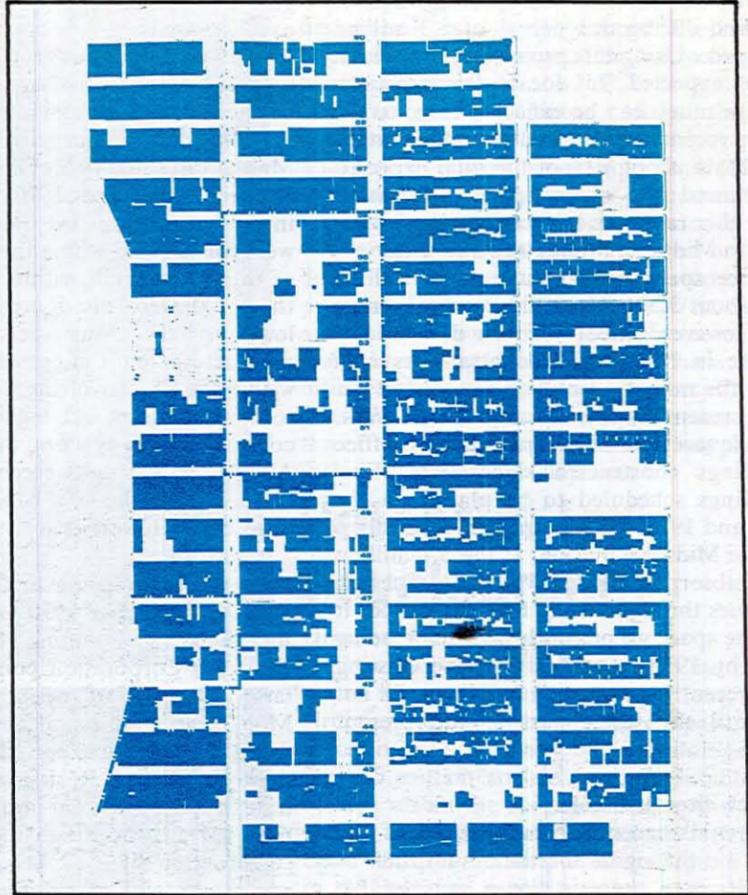
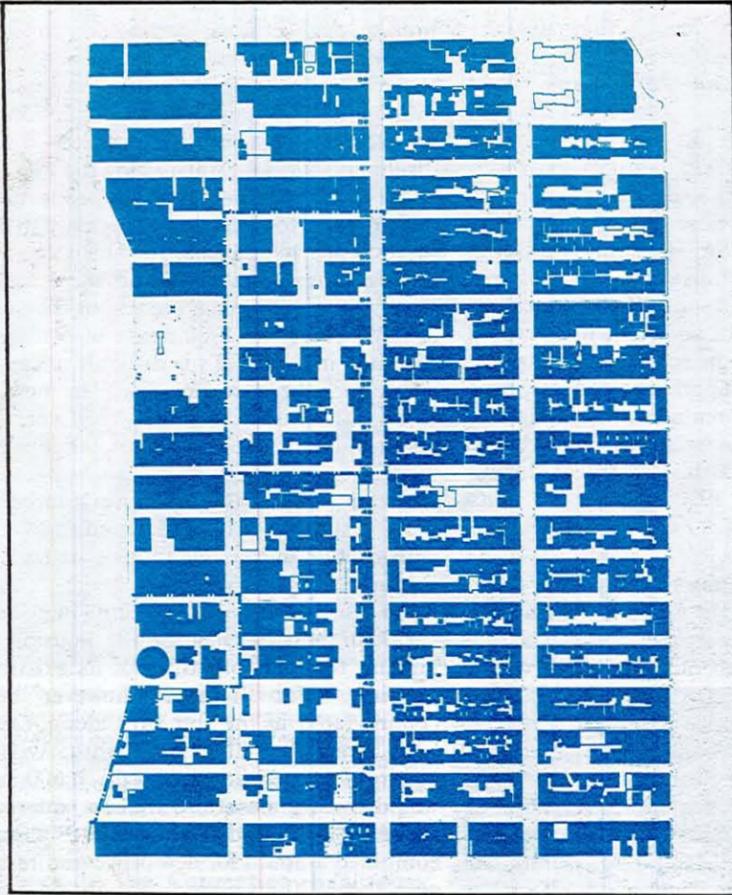
LA POBLACION DE CLINTON aumentaría por primera vez desde 1950 cuando cese esta demolición de viviendas y los nuevos edificios sean ocupados. Dentro de 10 a 15 años puede llegar a aumentar con mas de 20,000 habitantes. Sin embargo debido a que la mayoría serían adultos este aumento no tendría mucho impacto en las escuelas y otras facilidades hasta mucho mas adelante.

Preservar las **VIVIENDAS** de Clinton es sumamente importante para la vida de esta comunidad. Recomendamos tres programas que individualmente o en conjunto demuestran gran potencia para la renovación de los viejos edificios, esos construidos antes de 1901. Utilizando fondos federales, municipales y privados para mejorar la calidad de las viviendas mientras se mantiene un alquiler adecuado para los residentes. Para ayudar el desarrollo apropiado en el sector de preservación hemos diseñado un ejemplo de viviendas de tamaño bajo y densidad media. Adicionalmente recomendamos un programa de educación sobre viviendas para el inquilino acción cooperativa en renovaciones y descentralización del cumplimiento de las leyes. Todo ello para combatir la falta constante de los servicios y el mantenimiento de las viviendas en Clinton.

Esperamos que los **BIENES EN CLINTON** sigan adecuados en el futuro aun cuando sería necesario agrandar un poco las escuelas y clínicas por el aumento de la población. En general esta extensión no debería permitirse al menos que verdaderamente no exista otra solución. También es necesario un mejoramiento de los espacios al aire libre. Toda oportunidad debería aprovecharse para adquirir sitios para parques y para crear espacios para diversas actividades. Mejorar el ambiente general de las calles y aumentar el número de vías de peatones hacia el muelle y el propuesto Centro de Exhibición y Conferencias.

LA TENDENCIA DEL DESARROLLO en el pasado ha sido una amenaza al la existencia de Clinton como barrio residencial. En los próximos 10 a 15 años la mayor parte del desarrollo en Clinton será de viviendas y posiblemente un poco de comercio. Pero con el plan de clasificación que se propone ya no se pondrá en peligro al vecindario. La verdad es que muchos beneficios serán realizados si el desarrollo de Clinton es guiado de acuerdo con las propuestas hechas.

1955



1974

Epilogue

"Endangered Species" was the title of a recent New York Times Editorial which identified the precarious situation Ninth Avenue (and all of Clinton) must confront for survival. The editorial warned: "...if it dies, to be replaced by the usual profitable commercial desert, part of New York's meaning, richnesses and pleasure dies with it." The language was one which planners would very much like to use (given the skill) but consciously resist lest they be accused of impractical romanticism. Instead we concentrate on translating our concerns for such values into quantifiable issues, in a language acceptable to those who must act on the information presented. Occasionally we try to verbalize the unquantifiable but without the familiar charts, maps and diagrams. The results are frustrating. The sense of a place—it's people, buildings, activities, sights, sounds, smells, light and texture, which in concert provide an environment, defy description except by the most skilled writer. A place is better understood through experience, as most phenomena are. The value of that experience is difficult to quantify in professional jargon. The loss of place, however, seems easily understood; it is absolute, and we can point to the event as a sad but "real" quantifiable fact. Preservation is "real" and vital to our society, yet

difficult to quantify and hence convince people of its value.

So the editorial said, for us, in language and spirit, what the many maps and statistics of this study are really about.

Clinton, like the threatened species is part of an ecological chain in a cultural sense. The survival of such vulnerable species are subject, in an immediate time frame, to economic forces. The forces which are destroying what wants to be preserved could be diverted, given economic alternatives. However, the impetus to provide those alternatives is not an issue given to immediate responses and unfortunately, because of the complex events which must bear on the long term decision making, require a change in attitude. Thus it would be presumptuous of us to offer this study as the final resolution to the problems which have been festering in Clinton for the past twenty years. The solutions we propose are a beginning—the first steps toward preservation. Many techniques which were economically viable, were set aside during our work because the administrative, political, or legal (sometimes all) complexities make them impractical at this time. Developments rights, transfers, deed covenants, land banking and other

possible tools must be developed on a broad basis to provide the potential for preservation, as it provides the potential for development.

The Clinton community, we are certain, will continue to work for preservation. The city must provide ongoing analysis and accompanying alternatives to effect survival. Preservation, where appropriate must become a priority, and reordering of priorities toward the modest, humane and not so "shiny" requires more than a limited study, however well intentioned.

The problems must be articulated earlier recognized sooner, and policies put forth before, not after the process of deterioration is institutionalized. Visions of popular but banal urban centers must be balanced with more vital notions of what cities are all about. The "natural" economic forces which produced Clinton are now geared to produce a place quite different. We have seen the places which result from these forces. They are the same in every part of the country. They have quantifiable characteristics and are necessary as part of the urban fabric. They should not become "the" urban fabric. Legal and economic expertise must be applied to preserve the unquantifiable.

LAND USE CONCEPT

1 - Preservation Area 2 - Transitional Area 3 - Perimeter Area 4 - Circle Line Pier 5 - Convention Center Site 6 - Passenger Liner Terminal 7 - Recreation Platform 8 - New West Side Highway 9 - New Mass Transit 10 - Pedestrian Streets

